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British Columbia Provincial Museum

BELLA COOLA TEXTS

by Philip W. Davis and Ross Saunders

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by

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&
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BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM

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BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM

1980

for
the
Bella Coola
people

FOREWORD

The Linguistics Division of the British Columbia Provincial Museum takes much pleasure in bringing to publication this volume of eighteen texts in the Bella Coola language of British Columbia and in English translation. The volume was designed to be of use and interest both to those knowledgeable in Northwest native cultures and to the non-specialist reader who would like to learn more about the sparsely documented narratives of this coastal people. Earlier collections of texts exist, but none were accorded the extensive analysis and variant translations, both literal and free, which are included in this volume.

The time is rapidly passing when such texts can be collected in the original language from fluent speakers who can still recall the old traditions. We feel indeed fortunate to present such material, treated in a thorough and sympathetic fashion, by the authors of this volume.

Barbara S. Efrat
Curator of Linguistics
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Museum

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We want to express as well our gratitude to all those who have helped us to an understanding of their language, especially Margaret Siwallace and Charles Snow.

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INTRODUCTION

The Bella Coola live in British Columbia on the North Bentinck arm of the Burke Channel, that opens sixty miles farther west to the Pacific Ocean. They are a coastal people who speak a Salishan language related to others farther south in British Columbia and the United States; they are the northwestmost representatives of this group. The culture of the Bella Coola, like many other native cultures in North America, is preliterate, which means that the language has been neither written nor read by those who speak it. This does *not* mean that the Bella Coola lack a literary heritage. On the contrary, there is a large and varied body of traditional literature that has been transmitted orally from generation to generation.

The number of individuals that now have fluent command of the language ——and thus have access to this literature——is well below two hundred. The tradition will be maintained only as long as there are fluent speakers of Bella Coola and will be lost when they are no more.

The texts included in this collection represent a portion of that tradition. The stories may be tentatively divided into three genres, the first of which consists of those that are appropriate to individual families and that are the source of Bella Coola personal names. This first genre is additionally set off from the others by the term smayusta that is used to name such a story. Typically, these relate how specific areas were populated, e.g. Texts 6, 7, and 8 and the first part of Text 2 ("The Spider"); but stories with different themes may also be considered as smayusta. Texts 9 and 10 and the first part of Text 11 ("Iɬixʷani") are examples of this type.

A second genre is made up of those stories that take place in the distant past, but after the creation and settlement of the world. It is from this type that derive stories involving sniniq̓ in Text 1, the episode about the snakes in Text 2, the midgets in Text 3, the hawhaw in Text 4, and Raven in Texts 5 and 11. Stories of this type do not provide names and may be related by anyone. The distinction between these first two genres is fluid, and a given story may have passed from one to the other type. Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 293 Vol. 1.

A third genre records historical events and involves known human participants. Stories of this type relate how a famine was survived; how Łuɬuɬnimut refused to surrender a seal to pursuing wolves and lost his life; how Almci in similar circumstances tricked the wolves and lived. To this genre also belong stories that are more strictly oral history; these chronicle relationships between the Bella Coola and other coastal groups to the north and to the south.

Some of the texts presented here have appeared previously in different versions. The principal sources are Boas' *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (1898) and McIlwraith's *The Bella Coola Indians* (1948); both however, contain only English renditions with no texts in the original language. A collection of eight short texts in the original Bella Coola with translation appears in Boas 1895. None of those are reproduced here. A version of Text 1 ("Sniniq̓") appears in Boas 1898: 86-87; and McIlwraith 1948: 436-41 Vol. 2 has two versions of this same story. The content of Text 4 ("Hawhaw") appears in Boas 1898: 100. Text 8 ("Suwak̓x") is recapitulated in Boas 1898: 65-67. The long Text 9 ("Sun's Child") is found in Boas 1898: 100-03 and also in two versions in McIlwraith 1948: 489-95 Vol. 2. Similarly, Text 10 ("The Girl and the Animal") appears in Boas 1898: 111-14 and in two versions again in McIlwraith 1948: 678-82 Vol. 1, wherein the animal involved (anonymous in the version here) is identified as a black bear. And finally, from Text 11 ("Iɬixʷani and a Story about the Raven") the portion detailing how Raven eats the berries his cousins have picked is found in McIlwraith 1948: 408-10 Vol. 2.

Each text is given in four forms. First, the text is provided in the language of the Bella Coola; it has been grammatically segmented where there is good evidence for such a division. The GLOSSARY expands upon possible relationships between forms, and the introductory comments to the GLOSSARY explain the notation used in presenting the native language portion of the texts.

The second version (the second line) is the morpheme-by-morpheme translation. We have made extensive use of abbreviated grammatical labels here, and the explanation of these is given in APPENDIX-ABBREVIATIONS. Systematic treatment of the morphological semantics must be dealt with elsewhere. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1975 and Saunders and Davis 1977 and ms

A somewhat freer rendition in English is provided in the third line. Here much of the material in the second line is simply omitted. To try to put all the semantic stuff of a Bella Coola sentence into English will require a paragraph; but by comparing the two English versions of the second and third lines, the reader may gain an appreciation for the Bella Coola.

Finally, at the end of each text, after the three forms just describe have been fully presented, a much more smoothly-flowing English rendering of that text can be found as a connected narrative.

This collection contains eighteen texts comprising twenty-two distinct narratives, all recorded in January 1967. With the exception of one text, these were related by Mrs. Agnes Edgar, who is a fluent speaker of Bella Coola, then in her mid-seventies. The lone text not related by Mrs. Edgar is Text 16, told by Mr. Dan Nelson, then in his late sixties and also a fluent speaker of the language.

Sniniq̓

(1) way (2) ʔay-cut-c s-ka-tm-ay-ūc-timut-c s-ka-ya-
(1) OK (2) do-Refl-I Der-Unr-just-do-mouth-CRefl-I Der-Unr-good-
(1) OK. (2) I'm going to just try to talk about what they used to tell

yūc[1]-c-tū ʔał-ti-s-ʔalac̓ī-k̓ʷu-tx (3) tm-ʔalac̓ī-łł-aw x-
mouth-I-NContr Prep-Prox-Der-say-Usit-Prox (3) just-say-DP-they prep-
and to tell it well. (3) The old people used to

tXʷ tu-łlk̓ʷlx-tXʷ (4) ʔay-s ʔał-tXʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
them NProx-old people Redp-Dist (4) do-he Prep-then NProx-person-Dist
just tell them. (4) A person did this then.

(5) ʔat̓mn-alst-a[2]-kʷ-k̓ʷu t̓aXʷ ... tu-ƛ̓msta-tX ... ʔal-
(5) die-Part-they-Quot-Usit those ones ... NProx-person-Dist ... Prep-
(5) Some of the peoples' families around here were dying.

a-axʷa (6) ʔaXʷ ałnap-ic s-wi[3]-ka-s ʔal-a-
Prox-around here (6) Neg know-I/it Der-be there-which-it Prep-Prox-
(6) I don't know where it was around here up the river.

axʷa ʔūl-Xł[4] (7) ʔat̓mn-alst-aw
around here Prep-upriver (7) die-Part-they
(7) Some members of their families died.

(8) ƛ̓ap-aw s-q̓a[5]-mut-aw ti-s-ʔat̓mn-alst-aw (9) ƛ̓ap-s-
(8) go-they Der-put away-Refl-they Prox-Der-die-Part-they (9) go-he-
(8) They went to bury the one of them who had died. (9) He went.

kʷ-c̓ (10) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-nu-maw ta-cāctī-tX
Quot-Perf (10) go-he-Quot-Perf NProx-human-one NProx-youth-Dist
(10) A certain young man went.

(11) k̓ʷnta-cut-kʷ-c̓ ta-nu-maw ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (12) way
(11) decide-Refl-Quot-Perf NProx-human-one NProx-person-Dist (12) OK
(11) A certain person had made up his mind. (12) "OK,"

cut-kʷ   t̓aX   (13) ʔanayk-c   s-ka-k̓x-ic   ti-umat-ayx-
say-Quot   that one   (13) want-I   Der-Unr-see-I/it   Prox-get to-LCRes-
he said.   (13) " I want to see what's becoming of the ones who

aw-ck   wa-s-ʔat̓mn-alst-ił-ac   cut-s[6]-kʷ   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
they-InfDub   Prox-Der-die-Part-we-Prox   say-he-Quot   NProx-person-Dist
have died," the person said to his close friend.

ʔuł-ta-satix-s-tX   (14) yaya-liwa-timut-nu-ma
Prep-NProx-close friend-his-Dist   (14) good Redp-Sim-CRefl-you-Dub
(14) "Maybe you'll be brave," his close

cucut-m-is-kʷ   ta-satix-s-tX   (15) q̓aw-cap
say Redp-Tr-he/him-Quot   NProx-close friend-his-Dist   (15) put away-you/m
friend said to him.   (15) " You'll put

ka-Xim-s   a-sunxʷ-ac   (16) ninic-kʷ   t̓ayx   (17) ninic-
Unr-dawn-it   Prox-day-Prox   (16) alive Redp-Quot   this one   (17) alive
me away when day comes."   (16) He was alive.   (17) He was

tum-kʷ   t̓ayx   s-q̓aw-im   (18) ʔanayk-aw   s-napamxʷ-
Redp-CPass-Quot   this one   Der-put away-Pass   (18) want-they   Der-find out
alive when he was buried.   (18) They wanted to find ou

it   stam   s-ka-umat-ayx-aw   a-q̓aw-tim   ʔał-tXʷ
they/it   what   Der-Unr-get-to-LCRes-they   Prox-put away-Pass   Prep-then
what was becoming of those dead ones who were buried then.

wa-ʔat̓ma   (19) ʔat̓ma-na[7]-kʷ-k̓ʷu   tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ   (20) q̓a-mut-
Prox-die   (19) die-they-Quot-Usit   NProx-person-Dist   (20) put away-Refl
(19) People would die.   (20) They were

aw   (21) kʷanat-aw   a-ʔat̓mn-alst-ac   way
they   (21) cry-they   Prox-die-Part-Prox   OK
buried.   (21) The ones who had lost someone would cry, all right.

(22) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-i-c̓i-k[8]   t̓aXʷ   ...   tu-xixnas-ī-tXʷ
(22) Res-do-they-Quot-Contr-Perf   those ones ...   NProx-woman Redp-Dim-Di
(22) The young ladies did like that for him now.

ʔaɬ-t̓ayx (23) kʷnkʷanāt-tmaxʷ-aw-c̓ (24) ninic-c̓
Prep-this one (23) cry Redp-Recip-they-Perf (24) alive Redp-Perf
(23) They were making each other cry. (24) He was alive

t̓ayx s-q̓aw-im (25) ʔaɬ-k̓up-lx-cxʷ-i-c̓i-k
this one Der-put away-Pass (25) Res-hide and watch-Inch-you/me-Contr-Perf
when he was put away. (25) " You'll hide and watch me when night

ka-c̓us-m-s cut-s-kʷ-c̓n t̓aX way ʔuɬ-ta-satix-
Unr-dark-MP-it say-he-Quot-Impf that one OK Prep-NProx-close friend-
comes," he said to his close friend.

s-tX (26) ʔaɬ-k̓up-lx-cxʷ-c̓ (27) wix-tu c
his-Dist (26) Res-hide and watch-Inch-you/me-Perf (27) be then-Conf it
(26) " You'll hide and watch me. (27) It's when it

s-ka-c̓kt-s uɬ-nc s-ka-ƛ̓ap-nu-lu-c̓ ʔuɬ-ti-ʔapsuɬ-tx
Der-Unr-reach-he Prep-me Der-Unr-go-you-Expv-Perf Prep-Prox-reside-Prox
(sniniq̓) gets to me that you'll go immediately to the villagers to tell

s-ka-alac̓ī-tuxʷ cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ūɬ-tX
Der-Unr-tell-Cyou/it say-he-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-him
them, " the person said to him.

(28) ʔaɬ-ay-na-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k t̓aXʷ aɬ-tXʷ way
(28) Res-do-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf those ones Prep-then OK
(28) And they did it just like that then all right he was watched by him.

s-ʔaɬ-k̓up-lx-im x-tX (29) ʔaɬ-q̓a-mūt-ɬ-a-kʷ-c̓
Der-Res-hide and watch-Inch-Pass Prep-him (29) Res-put away-Refl-Mid-
(29) They buried him then

ac way (30) kʷanat-aw tu-xixnas-ī-tXʷ ʔaɬ-tXʷ
these ones OK (30) cry-they NProx-woman Redp-Dim-Dist Prep-then
all right. (30) The young ladies cried then.

(31) ʔanuɬt̓nank ti-ʔay-uc-m-im s-ʔanuɬt̓nank-s wa-syut-aw
(31) Anuɬt̓nank Prox-do-mouth-MP-Pass Der-Anuɬt̓nank-it Prox-song-their
(31) " Anuɬt̓nank " is what they said when a chief's song is sung.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (33) ʔaX[9]-kʷ-i-lu-k ayk̓-m-ɨ̆-s ta-s-cxʷ-
Prep-then (33) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv be long-MP-Dim-it NProx-Der-dark-
(33) It wasn't very long after it got dark that the animal

lx-ulmx-tX s-tuin-m-s-kʷ-lu-c̓ ta-nanmk̓-ɬX
Inch-earth-Dist Der-show up-MP-he-Quot-Expv-Perf NProx-animal-Dist
showed up before expected.

(34) sm-ʔuɬa-s s-Xapa-t-is ti-ʔat̓ma-t̓ayx
(34) from the beginning-approach-it Der-pack-Tr-he/it Prox-die-Prox
(34) It went right up and put the dead person in his pack.

(35) ƛ̓ap-tum-lu-c̓ x-tX (36) ƛ̓ap-s-lu-c̓ t̓ayx
(35) go-CPass-Expv-Perf Prep-it (36) go-he-Expv-Perf this one
(35) He was already carried off by it. (36) He (the friend) went

ʔuɬ-ta-apsuɬ-tX (37) ƛ̓ap-tum-lu-c̓n t̓aX
Prep-NProx-live-Dist (37) go-CPass-Expv-Impf that one
immediately to the villagers. (37) " He's already carried off.

(38) ƛ̓ap-tum-lu-c̓ ta-satix-ɬ-c cut-s-kʷ-c̓n tX
(38) go-CPass-Expv-Perf NProx-close friend-Mid-my say-he-Quot-Impf he
(38) My friend is already carried off," he was saying.

(39) c̓Xɬ-anm-ūc-a-kʷ-c̓ tu-xnas-uks-tXʷ s-ka-kʷanat-aw
(39) true-LCDev-mouth-they-Perf NProx-woman-Pl-Dist Der-Unr-cry-they
(39) The women then cried for real.

(40) ƛ̓ap-tum-c̓ tX s-k̓m-im (41) ʔa-ɬkʷ[10]-m-
(40) go-CPass-Perf he Der-carry in mouth-Pass (41) Res-pickup-MP-
(40) He was picked up in its mouth and carried off. (41) Long ago

uc-tutim-kʷ wa-ƛ̓msta ʔal-a-ʔayk̓ ʔal-a-s-ƛ̓a-
edge-CPass-Quot Prox-person Prep-Prox-long ago Prep-Prox-Der-black bear-
people were laced up in bearskins.

yanɬ (42) q̓aw-tim (43) ʔaɬ-ay-tum-kʷ-i-c̓i-k
covering (42) put away-Pass (43) Res-do-CPass-Quot-Contr-Perf
(42) They were buried. (43) This person was fixed like that.

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (44) ʔaa ƛ̓ap-tum t̓ayx ʔal-a-ac
NProx-person-Dist (44) Aah go-CPass this one Prep-Prox-here
(44) Ah, he was carried off here.

(45) kʷn-āX-uc-im wa-anuXʷum-ʔac ʔūl-a-Xɬ (46) ʔūl-
(45) walk-behind-edge-Pass Prox-river-Prox Prep-Prox-upriver (46) Prep-
(45) They went up along the edge of the river. (46) Up-

a-ʔaXɬ s-ƛ̓ap-tum t̓ayx s-ka-ɬtnm-tum ʔaɬ-ti-
Prox-upriver Der-go-CPass this one Der-Unr-go-up-CPass Prep-Prox-
river where he was taken is where he was carried; to a mountain by the

smt x-ta-nanmk̓ ta-aɬ-Xapa-t-tX (47) wix-k̓ʷ[11]-
mountain Prep-NProx-animal NProx-Res-pack-Tr-Dist (47) be then-Quot-
animal that was packing him. (47) This happened

it-k̓ʷu-ka tXʷ (48) ʔik̓-aX-kʷ sq̓ʷ-ik-ayx-
Contr-Usit it (48) Contr-Neg-Quot jump-long horizontal axis-LCRes-
every now and again. (48) The animal never jumps over anything.

s ta-nanmk̓-tX (49) ɬXʷt-kʷ-k̓ʷu t̓aX ʔaɬ-tu-tqnk-
he NProx-animal-Dist (49) crawl-Quot-Usit that one Prep-NProx-under-
(49) It always crawls underneath the bottoms of

us tu-stn-tXʷ (50) ʔaXʷ sq̓ʷ-ik-is
flat surface NProx-log-Dist (50) Neg jump-long horizontal axis-he/it
logs. (50) It didn't jump over any logs then.

ti-ka-stn ʔaɬ-tXʷ (51) xʷuxʷmp-cut-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ ta-sniniq̓-
Prox-Unr-log Prep-then (51) unhook Redp-Refl-he-Quot-Usit NProx-sniniq̓-
(51) The sniniq̓ would (have to) get untangled

tX ʔaɬ-ta-tqnk-us tu-stn-tXʷ (52) ʔip̓-us-
Dist Prep-NProx-under-flat surface NProx-log-Dist (52) grab-flat
from the bottoms of the logs. (52) The person was

m-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ʔuɬ-tu-stn-tXʷ
surface-MP-he-Quot-Usit NProx-person Dist Prep-NProx-log-Dist
grabbing onto the logs.

(53) ʔaɬ-ʔip̓-us-m-s ʔaɬ-txuɬ-ʔaylikt-s s-ʔaɬ-ʔip̓-us-
(53) Res-grab-flat surface-MP-he Prep-towards-long-it Der-Res-grab-flat
(53) He would hold on as long as he could do so.

m-s (54) xʷp-ak-m-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu t̓aX (55) ƛ̓ap-āX-
surface-MP-he (54) unhook-hand-MP-he-Quot-Usit that one (55) go-bottom-
(54) Then he would let go. (55) The animal

s-kʷ-k̓ʷ ta-nanmk̓-tX s-ka-pixpiq̓t-s (56) wix-
it-Quot-Usit NProx-animal-Dist Der-Unr-agent-fart Redp-he (56) be then-
began to fart. (56) It's

k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k tXʷ s-ʔay-uc-kʷ-k̓ʷu t̓aX ʔaɬ-tXʷ
Quot-Contr-Usit then Der-do-mouth-Quot-Usit that one Prep-then
then that he would speak.

(57) qamXamʔilaw cut-s-k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k t̓aX ... ta-sniniq̓-tX
(57) O salmon say-he-Quot-Contr-Usit that one ... NProx-sniniq̓-Dist
(57) " O salmon," the sniniq̓ would say then.

(58) qamXamʔilaw (59) nuq̓ʷ-āXāX-s-ma-su cut-kʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k
(58) O salmon (59) divide-bottom Redp-he-Dub-Expb say-Quot-Contr-Usit
(58) "O salmon! (59) Maybe it's cracking open," he would say.

t̓aX (60) txuɬ-ʔaylikt-aɬ-s t̓ayx s-q̓lum-s ʔaɬ-ti-
that one (60) towards-long-foot-he this one Der-climb-he Prep-Prox-
(60) For quite a while he climbed this mountain.

smt-t̓ayx (61) ʔu-ƛ̓uk̓ s-ʔaɬ-ʔay-tus x-tXʷ (62) yayaX-
mountain-Prox (61) Dir-high Der-Res-do-Che/it Prep-them (62) play
(61) Going up, he was doing this. (62) He was

m-is ta-nanmk̓-tX (63) yayātwi-ma-lu-c̓ ʔaɬ-tXʷ
trick-Tr-he/it NProx-animal-Dist (63) be happy-Dub-Expv-Perf Prep-then
playing tricks on the animal. (63) Maybe he was having fun then doing

s-ʔaɬ-ʔay-s-ck x-tXʷ (64) xʷp-āX-ik-
Der-Res-do-he-InfDub Prep-them (64) unhook-bottom-long horizontal axis-
those things like that. (64) All right, every now and then he

m-im-kʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k t̓aX x-t̓aX way (65) ʔanu-
MP-Pass-Quot-Contr-Usit that one Prep-that one all right (65) Cont-
would be taken out of the pack by the animal. OK. (65) All right

mus-īk-im-kʷ-k̓ʷu way (66) wix-k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-ka tXʷ
feel-stomach-Pass-Quot-Usit all right (66) be then-Quot-Contr-Usit it
he puts his hand on the man's stomach. (66) That would be the time that

s-ʔaX-kʷ-k̓ʷ łupt-s t̓aX ... ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (67) ʔaX-
Der-Neg-Quot-Usit breathe-he that one ... NProx-person-Dist (67) Neg-
the person would never breathe. (67) He

kʷ-k̓ʷ łupt-s txuł-ʔaylikt-s s-ʔanu-mus-īk-im x-tX
Quot-Usit breathe-he toward-long-it Der-Cont-feel-stomach-Pass Prep-him
never breathed for as long as his stomach was being felt by him.

(68) ʔal-a-wayx-ī-kʷ-k̓ʷ way s-xʷp-ak-m-s
(68) Prep-Prox-be a span of time-Dim-Quot-Usit OK Der-let go-hand-MP-he
(68) After a little while the animal let go of him.

ta-nanmk̓-tX ʔał-tX (69) ʔaa Xapa-t-im-kʷ-su-c̓
NProx-animal-Dist Prep-him (69) Ah pack-Tr-Pass-Quot-Expb-Perf
(69) Ah, he is put back in the pack again.

t̓ayx (70) ƛ̓ap-tum-c̓ ʔu-ƛ̓uk̓ ʔūl-a-s-c̓kt-aw
this one (70) go-CPass-Perf Dir-high Prep-Prox-Der-reach-they
(70) He is carried upwards until they reach the house of the

t̓aXʷ ul-a-suł-s-kʷ t̓aX ... ta-sniniq̓-tX
those ones Prep-Prox-house-his-Quot that one ... NProx-sniniq̓-Dist
sniniq̓.

(71) suł-kʷ-tu wa-ʔamat-s ta-sniniq̓-tX s-ʔapsuł-s
(71) house-Quot-Conf Prox-stay-he NProx-sniniq̓-Dist Der-live-he
(71) It's a real house where the sniniq̓ lives.

(72) slaX-a-kʷ-tu wa-mamnc-ī-s ta-nanmk̓-tX
(72) many-they-Quot-Conf Prox-children Redp-Dim-his NProx-animal-Dist
(72) The animal has a lot of children.

(73)	c̓kt-nix-im	t̓ayx	ˀal-a-ac	(74)	xʷp-āX-
(73)	reach-LC-Pass	this one	Prep-Prox-here	(74)	take off-bottom-
(73)	He was finally gotten there.			(74)	He was unpacked at the

ik-m-im	ˀał-ta-as-uc-s	tu-suł-tXʷ	(75)	way
inside-MP-Pass	Prep-NProx-Loc-edge-its	NProx-house-Dist	(75)	OK
front of the house.			(75)	OK.

(76)	sq̓ʷ-ūł-im	t̓ayx	ˀal-a-ac	tu-łkʷ-m-uc-
(76)	untie-body-Pass	this one	Prep-Prox-here	NProx-pick up-MP-edge-
(76)	The body was unlaced here.			

ta-tXʷ	(77)	puλ̓-a-kʷ-c̓	ta-qīqpĭ-tXʷ	s-ka-
Inst-Dist	(77)	come-they-Quot-Perf	NProx-little ones Redp-Dist	Der-Unr-
	(77)	The little ones came and bounced his testicles up and down		

ˀał-q̓ʷaca-ūł-ī-t-it-kʷ-k̓ʷ	tu-maka-s	t̓aX
Res-shake-round-Dim-Tr-they/it-Quot-Usit	NProx-testicle-his	that one
in their hands.		

(78)	ˀnc-ł-ma-ks	ˀac	muXmuX-łt̓-uł-īkan-ta	cucut-a-
(78)	be me-Poss-Dub-Ind	these ones	?-hang-round-ear-Inst	say Redp-they-
(78)	" Maybe I'll be the one who has these for my earrings," they were			

k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k	t̓axʷ	(79)	wix-k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-ka	tXʷ	s-ˀał-
Quot-Contr-Usit	those ones	(79)	be then-Quot-Contr-Usit	then	Der-Res-
saying.		(79)	It was then that the person wanted to		

ił-q̓ʷnł-alus-s	ta-λ̓msta-tX	(80)	qāXacxi-s-c̓	s-ˀał-q̓ʷaca-
laugh-want-he	NProx-person-Dist	(80)	tickle-it-Perf	Der-Res-shake-
laugh.		(80)	It tickled to have his testicles	

yūł-ī-t-im	tu-maka-s-tXʷ	(81)	ˀaay	ˀaXʷ-taXʷ	ał-ay-
round-Dim-Tr-Pass	NProx-testicle-his-Dist	(81)	ay	Neg-Imp	Res-do-
shaken.		(81)	"Ay, don't you talk like		

uc-ap	cut-k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k	t̓aX	way	ta-sniniq̓-tX
mouth-you Pl	say-Quot-Contr-Usit	that one	OK	NProx-sniniq̓-Dist
that" the sniniq̓ would say.				

(82) ʔaXʷ-taXʷ al-ʔay-uc-ap (83) q̓ʷlas-ak-m-ic ti-ʔaɬ-
(82) Neg-Imp Res-do-mouth-you Pl (83) strange-hand-MP-I/it Prox-Res-
(82) " Don't talk like that. (83) I see something different in

puƛ̓-ayx-c-t̓ayx ʔaɬʔaysc̓ cucut-kʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k t̓aX way
come-LCRes-I-Prox now say Redp-Quot-Contr-Usit that one OK
this one I've brought back now," he would say.

(84) ʔaay ʔaɬ-ʔay-na-kʷ-k̓ʷ ta-qīqpī-tXʷ s-Xʷism-aw
(84) ay Res-do-they-Quot-Usit NProx-little ones-Dist Der-play-they
(84) Ay, the little ones would play like that.

(85) puƛ̓-aw ʔuɬ-tX (86) way (87) wal-im x-tX aɬ-
(85) come-they Prep-him (86) OK (87) leave-Pass Prep-him Prep-
(85) They went up to him. (86) OK. (87) He was left where he was put.

ta-as-ʔamat-s-tXʷ s-ʔaɬ-kʷƛ̓-s (88) wix-k̓ʷ-i-c̓i-k tXʷ
NProx-Loc-stay-he-Dist Der-Res-put-he (88) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf then
(88) It was then that he saw it

s-k̓x-is t̓aX aɬ-tXʷ (89) k̓x-is-kʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
Der-see-he/it that one Prep-there (89) see-he/it-Quot NProx-person-Dist
there. (89) The person saw it.

(90) ʔaɬ-ʔay-kʷ-tu-ya ta-ʔanu-ɬt̓-īXʷ ac ʔaɬ-ta-
(90) Res-do-Quot-Conf-Incomp NProx-Cont-hang-top these ones Prep-NProx-
(90) It was surprising the things hanging around inside the house.

as-txʷ-s tu-suɬ-tXʷ (91) kal-aq̓ʷs-m-is-kʷ ta-
Loc-inside-its NProx-house-Dist (91) meet-eye-MP-he/it-Quot NProx-
(91) The person spied a thing called a

ƛ̓msta-tX ti-can-tum (92) ʔanu-ɬt̓-īXʷ-s-kʷ aɬ-tXʷ ...
person-Dist Prox-spear-CPass (92) Cont-hang-top-it-Quot Prep-there ...
'spear'. (92) It was hanging in there ... the house

tu-suɬ-tXʷ suɬ-s ta-sniniq̓-tX (93) ʔay ... ƛ̓ap-ak-m-
NProx-house-Dist ... house-his NProx-sniniq̓-Dist (93) ay ... go-hand-MP-
... the sniniq̓'s house. (93) Ay, he began to be

im-kʷ t̓ayx ˀal-a-ac s-ka-ˀistux-im (94) ˀapsuw-īXʷ-
Pass-Quot this one Prep-Prox-here Der-Unr-skin-Pass (94) blow-top-
worked on here so that he could be skinned. (94) His throat

im-kʷ ta-ˀuq̓uni-s t̓aX (95) ˀa-squpɬic̓-ma-tu
Pass-Quot NProx-throat-his that one (95) Res-covered with hair-Dub-Conf
was blown upon. (95) Maybe he was indeed covered

aɬ-tXʷ al-a-s-lq̓-tum-ck (96) ˀapsuw-īXʷ-im-kʷ
Prep-then Prep-Prox-Der-mind-CPass-InfDub (96) blow-top-Pass-Quot
with hair to their way of thinking. (96) He was blown upon.

(97) ˀapsuw-im-kʷ si-ˀaɬ-ˀay-tum ti-nanmk̓-tx s-istux-im
(97) blow-Pass-Quot Der-Res-do-CPass Prox-animal-Prox Der-skin-Pass
(97) He was blown upon the way an animal is when it is skinned.

(98) ˀaɬ-ˀay-tum-kʷ-i-c̓i-k t̓aX aɬ-tXʷ (99) ˀaa sq̓-
(98) Res-do-CPass-Quot-Contr-Perf that one Prep-then (99) ah cut-
(98) He had that done to him like that then. (99) "Ah, let you

ak-tuxʷ-alu tx s-ka-nunu-cut-ik-s-kʷ-c̓
hand-Cyou/it-Att it Der-Unr-internal Redp-say-internal-he-Quot-Perf
try to cut it," is what he was thinking then.

aɬ-tXʷ (100) ˀanu-mus-īk-im-kʷ-lū-k̓ʷu t̓aX x-tX
Prep-then (100) Cont-feel-stomach-Pass-Quot-Pers-Usit that one Prep-him
(100) He kept on having his stomach felt by him in case he was

wix s-ka-ɬunɬupt-s (101) txuɬ-ˀaɬ-ˀaylikt s-aXʷ ɬupt-s
be it Der-Unr-breathe Redp-he (101) toward-Res-long Der-Neg breathe-he
breathing. (101) For as long as he did that the good

ta-sasq̓alus ta-ƛ̓msta-ya (102) ˀaɬ-ˀay-s x-tXʷ way
NProx-good-winded NProx-person-Incomp (102) Res-do-he Prep-then OK
winded person didn't breathe, eh? (102) He did like that then OK.

(103) ˀaa ˀaɬ-ˀay-s-kʷ-tu-tu-ku aɬ-tXʷ s-sq̓ak-tum
(103) ah Res-do-he-Quot-Conf-Conf-Surp Prep-then Der-scratch-hand-CPass
(103) Ah, he did exactly as planned then when he was scratched.

(104) sq̓-ī-s ʔał-ta-anukalałłni-s ta-ƛ̓msta-
(104) scratch-Dim-he Prep-NProx-centerline of throat-his NProx-person-
(104) The person was scratched on the middle of his throat.

tX (105) ka-istux-im-c̓n t̓ayx x-ac (106) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓
Dist (105) Unr-skin-Pass-Impf this one Prep-now (106) go-he-Quot-Perf
(105) He's going to be skinned now. (106) He began to

t̓aX s-ka-anu-qʷaXʷ-uc-s (107) nu-qʷaXʷ-uc-kʷ-c̓
that one Der-Unr-Cont-raven-mouth-he (107) human-raven-mouth-Quot-Perf
holler like a raven. (107) He hollered like a raven

t̓aX ał-tXʷ (108) łq̓-ak-m (109) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ
that one Prep-then (108) slap-hand-MP (109) go-they-Quot
then. (108) He clapped his hands. (109) The sniniq̓ and

t̓aXʷ s-ka-nu-tk̓ak̓-m-āX-aw ta-sniniq̓-tX
those ones Der-Unr-human-fall Redp-MP-bottom-they NProx-sniniq̓-Dist
his children went over and fell backwards.

tu-mamnc-ī-s-tū (110) nu-tk̓ak̓-m-āX-aw
NProx-children Redp-Dim-his-NContr (110) human-fall Redp-MP-bottom-they
(110) They fell over backwards.

(111) ƛ̓ap-kʷ-c̓n t̓aX s-ka-ƛ̓ikm-s al-a-ac ʔuł-ti-
(111) go-Quot-Impf that one Der-Unr-run-he Prep-Prox-here Prep-Prox-
(111) He began to run here to the spear that was hanging up.

anu-łt̓-īXʷ ti-can-t̓ayx (112) ʔip̓-is (113) ƛ̓ap-s
Cont-hang-top Prox-spear-Prox (112) grab-he/it (113) go-he
(112) He grabbed it. (113) He began to

s-ka-ƛ̓ikm-s (114) ʔay-s ʔał-tXʷ s-ƛ̓ikm-s ʔał-tXʷ (115) ʔaa
Der-Unr-run-he (114) do-he Prep-then Der-run-he Prep-then (115) ah
run. (114) What he did then was run. (115) Ah,

c̓kt-k̓ʷ-i-lu-k t̓aX ʔuł-ti-kuł-ulmx-t̓ayx tqʷnƛ̓
reach-Quot-Contr-Expv that one Prep-Prox-surface-earth-Prox toward us
he reached (level) ground down towards us.

(116) xʷin-nimut   s-nix-ay-āq-nix-ī-t-im   x-tX
(116) discover-CRefl   Der-more-do-behind-LC-Dim-Tr-Pass   Prep-him
(116) He discovered that he was being gained up by him (sniniq̓).

(117) ʔaXʷ   ti-ka-s-lq̓-s   t̓ayx   ʔal-a-ka-c̓kta-timut-s
(117) Neg   Prox-Unr-Der-mind-his   this one   Prep-Prox-Unr-do-CRefl-he
(117) He can't think of what to do.

(118) lq̓-ay-layx-s-kʷ   tX   s-ka-mulm-s   ʔul-a-qla-c
(118) think-Aux-IC-he-Quot   he   Der-Unr-dive-he   Prep-Prox-water-Prox
(118) He got the idea of diving into the water.

(119) puƛ̓-s   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (120) ʔay-s   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   way   s-ʔaɬ-mulm-s
(119) come-it   Prep-then   (120) do-he   Prep-then   OK   Der-Res-dive-he
(119) It happened then.   (120) He did it then all right, he dove.

(121) tpi-āX-uc-am-s   ʔal-a-anuXʷum-ac   (122) ƛ̓ɬ-lx-
(121) opposite-behind-edge-CD-he   Prep-Prox-river-Prox   (122) dry-Inch-
(121) He's going over to the other side of the river.   (122) He reached

aɬ-timut-s-kʷ-tu-c̓n   aɬ-tXʷ   tm-aɬ-iɬm-ɬ-kʷ-m-i-lū-
foot-CRefl-he-Quot-Conf-Impf   Prep-then   just-Res-stand-Mid-Quot-Dub-Contr-
dry land then, but the sniniq̓ would maybe just be standing there looking

k   ta-sniniq̓-tX   s-ka-ʔaɬ-k̓x-s   uɬ-tX   ʔal-a-ka-si-
Pers   NProx-sniniq̓-Dist   Der-Unr-Res-watch-he   Prep-him   Prep-Prox-Unr-Der-
at him wherever he appears (from the water).

Xilxus   (123) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-ma-k̓ʷu   ta-sniniq̓   s-ka-nukɬm-s-tu-c̓
appear   (123) go-he-Quot-Dub-Usit   NProx-sniniq̓   Der-Unr-cross-he-Conf-Perf
(123) The sniniq̓ would go across to follow him again then.

s-ka-aɬ-awɬ-is-tu-c̓   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (124) c̓Xmayx-kʷ-c̓
Der-Unr-Res-follow-he/him-Conf-Perf   Prep-then   (124) true-Quot-Perf
(124) He was truly hardly

s-aXʷ   ti-ka-s-tuin-s   t̓aXʷ   x-a-six   (125) t̓kʷ-s-
Der-Neg   Prox-Unr-Der-show-he   that one   Prep-Prox-blood   (125) bleed-it-
recognizable from the blood.   (125) His throat

c̓ ta-asūłikałł-s-tX (126) ʔay-s-kʷ-tu-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ way
Perf NProx-throat-his-Dist (126) do-he-Quot-Conf-Perf Prep-then OK
was bleeding. (126) He did it again then all right.

(127) ʔay-tus-tu-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ (128) mulm-s-tu-c̓
(127) do-Che/it-Conf-Perf Prep-then (128) dive-he-Conf-Perf
(127) He did it again then. (128) He dove again.

(129) sq̓ʷ-s uł-ta-qla-tXʷ (130) nix-ay-āq-nix-ī-t-im
(129) jump-he Prep-NProx-water-Dist (130) more-do-behind-LC-Dim-Tr-Pass
(129) He jumped into the water. (130) He's being gained upon by

x-tX s-ka-pakʷ-nix-im (131) ʔał-ʔay-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu ta-nanmk̓-
Prep-him Der-Unr-catch-LC-Pass (131) Res-do-he-Quot-Usit NProx-animal-
him (sniniq̓) trying to catch him (131) The animal was doing as he had

tX ał-tXʷ (132) tm-ʔał-k̓x-ł-s ʔal-a-ka-umat-ał-s
Dist Prep-then (132) just-Res-look-Mid-he Prep-Prox-Unr-get to-foot-he
before. (132) He's just watching where he got to then.

ʔał-tXʷ (133) Xilxʷus-tu-c̓ ʔał-tu-s-c̓iX-ik-ał
Prep-then (133) appear-Conf-Perf Prep-NProx-Der-sand-top surface-foot
(133) He appeared then on a sandbar further down river.

ta-taq̓ʷł-ī-t̓aXʷ (134) ʔał-ʔay-k̓ʷ-i-lu-k t̓aXʷ
NProx-further down-Dim-Mid (134) Res-do-Quot-Contr-Expv that one
(134) He kept on doing this coming down this

x-ac tqʷnλ̓ (135) ʔus-cāqʷ-kʷ-i-c̓i-k way ti-s-c̓iX-
Prep-these this way (135) Dir-long-Quot-Contr-Perf OK Prox-Der-sand-
way. (135) The sandbar that the women came to to cry on

ik-ał ti-umat-a-kʷ-ma-c̓ tu-xnas-uks-tXʷ
top surface-foot Prox-get to-they-Quot-Dub-Perf NProx-woman-Pl-Dist
was a long one.

s-kʷanat-aw ʔał-ta-s-c̓iX-ik-ał-tX (136) kʷanat-aw-
Der-cry-they Prep-NProx-Der-sand-top surface-foot-Dist (136) cry-they-
(136) The women

c̓   tu-xnas-uks-tXʷ   aɬ-tXʷ   (137) k̓ʷp-ūs-timut-kʷ-
Perf   NProx-woman-Pl-Dist   Prep-there   (137) unambiguous-face-CRefl-Quot-
were crying there.   (137) His friend was facing the

c̓   ta-satix-s-tX   s-aɬ-k̓x-s   ʔūɬ-Xɬ
Perf   NProx-close friend-his-Dist   Der-Res-see-he   Prep-upriver
right way, watching upriver.

(138) ʔaɬnap-is-kʷ-lu-ku-ks   s-ka-lip̓-ayx-s   ʔaɬ-tXʷ
(138) know-he/it-Quot-Expv-Surp-Ind   Der-Unr-turn-LCRes-he   Prep-then
(138) He had a feeling that he would be getting back then.

(139) ʔaɬ-lip̓-ayx   (140) ʔay-s-kʷ-tu-tu-ku   aɬ-tXʷ
(139) Res-turn-LCRes   (140) happen-it-Quot-Conf-Conf-Surp   Prep-then
(139) He returned.   (140) Sure enough it happened then that he appeared

s-Xilxʷus   aɬ-ta-āXɬ-tXʷ   (141) ɬk̓m-s-kʷ-lu-c̓
Der-appear   Prep-NProx-upriver-Dist   (141) speak-he-Quot-Expv-Perf
upriver.   (141) His friend spoke out

ta-satix-s-tX   (142) ʔaa   ƛ̓a-ki-naw-it   cay-uc-
NProx-close friend-his-Dist   (142) ah   hindrance-go-Pl-Exh   stop-mouth-
immediately.   (142) "Ah, you better stop your crying.

ap   s-ka-kʷanat-ap   (143) tix-ma-c̓   ti-Xilxʷus-t̓ayx
you Pl   Der-Unr-cry-you Pl   (143) be him-Dub-Perf   Prox-appear-Prox
(143) The one who has appeared may be him,"

cut-k̓ʷ-i-c̓i-k   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   ʔuɬ-tu-xnas-uks-tXʷ
say-Quot-Contr-Perf   NProx-person-Dist   Prep-NProx-woman-Pl-Dist
the person said to the women.

(144) ʔay-na-kʷ-tu-tū   tXʷ   s-cay-us-aw   (145) c̓Xmayx
(144) do-they-Quot-Conf-NContr   they   Der-stop-mouth-they   (145) true
(144) And they really did stop it.   (145) The

ta-ka-s-tuin-s   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   x-a-six   s-c̓kt-s
NProx-Unr-Der-show-he   NProx-person-Dist   Prep-Prox-blood   Der-reach-he
person was hardly recognizable from the blood when he reached them.

uł-tXʷ (146) c̓Xmayx-k̓ʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k s-ʔał-ʔawł-im t̓ayx
Prep-them (146) true-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf Der-Res-follow-Pass this one
(146) He was actually followed here to his house.

ʔal-a-ac ʔuł-tu-suł-tXʷ (147) ʔus-txʷa (148) ʔał-
Prep-Prox-here Prep-NProx-house-Dist (147) Dir-inside (148) Res-
(147) He went inside. (148) He

ip̓-is-c̓ t̓ayx ti-can-t̓ayx (149) wix-kʷ-c̓
grasp-he/it-Perf this one Prox-spear-Prox (149) be it-Quot-Perf
held on to the spear. (149) It's because he was

s-ka-anu-s-qʷ-nix-im t̓aX si-tx-ał-ay-ak-timut-s
Der-Unr-Cont-Der-deny-LC-Pass that one Der-have-Res-do-hand-CRefl-he
not believed that he held on to the spear.

ta-can-tX (150) ta-slaX-kʷ ta-q̓a-uł-ta-łł
NProx-spear-Dist (150) NProx-many-Quot NProx-put away-round-Inst-DP
(150) "There are many shrouds where the sniniq̓'s house

ʔal-a-amat-s wa-suł-s ti-sniniq̓-t̓ayx (151) ʔay-s-kʷ-
Prep-Prox-stay-he Prox-house-his Prox-sniniq̓-Prox (151) happen-it-Quot-
is." (151) It happened

c̓ ʔał-tXʷ way s-qʷlxʷ-uł-cut-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
Perf Prep-then OK Der-gather-around-Refl-he NProx-person-Dist
then all right that the people gathered together.

(152) c̓Xmayx s-lik̓-s tu-sul-tXʷ (153) ʔix-lq̓-m-aw-
(152) true Der-full-it NProx-house-Dist (153) Distb-think-MP-they-
(152) The house was really full. (153) They thought about

c̓n ʔac ʔal-a-ka-c̓kta-tut ta-nanmk̓-tX al-a-
Impf these Prep-Prox-Unr-happen-CPthey/it NProx-animal-Dist Prep-Prox-
what to do to the animal in its house.

suł-s (154) ʔlq̓-ay-layx-s ti-nu-maw ti-ƛ̓msta ał-tXʷ
house-his (154) think-Aux-IC-he Prox-human-one Prox-person Prep-then
(154) One of the people thought of something then.

(155) ʔay-uc-aw-c̓ (156) spkʷn-aw (157) spkʷn-
(155) do-mouth-they-Perf (156) have a meeting-they (157) have a meet-
(155) They talked. (156) They had a meeting. (157) They met.

cut-aw (158) ʔix-lq̓-m-aw al-a-ka-c̓kta-tut
ing-Refl-they (158) Distb-think-MP-they Prep-Prox-Unr-happen-Cthey/it
(158) They thought about what to do to the animal then.

ta-nanmk̓-tX al-tXʷ (159) ʔix-ʔlq̓-m-aw-c̓n
NProx-animal-Dist Prep-then (159) Distb-think-MP-they-Impf
(159) They thought.

(160) ʔix-lq̓-ay-layx-s ti-nu-maw-t̓ayx (161) łk̓m-s-tu-c̓
(160) Distb-think-Aux-IC-he Prox-human-one-Prox (161) speak-he-Conf-Perf
(160) The one of them had an idea. (161) He mentioned this

ʔūl-a-skłanłł-s ci-xnas-c̓ayx (162) wa-axʷł a-
Prep-Prox-sanitary napkin-her Prox-woman-Prox (162) Prox-rest Prox-
woman's sanitary napkins. (162) The rest were

qʷlxʷ-uł-im ʔał-tXʷ (163) qʷlxʷ-uł-im wa-ʔayk̓-m-łł
gather-around-Pass Prep-then (163) gather-around-Pass Prox-old-MP-DP
gathered around then. (163) The bad, old clothes were gathered

a-sx-c̓ a-s-q̓łkʷ ał-tXʷ (164) ʔlq̓-im-c̓ t̓ayx
Prox-bad-Perf Prox-Der-clothes Prep-then (164) think-Pass-Perf this one
up then. (164) He had thought to smoke

s-ka-nu-q̓up-im ta-nanmk̓-tX (165) ʔay-naw x-tXʷ
Der-Unr-Agent-smoke-Pass NProx-animal-Dist (165) do-they Prep-then
the animal out. (165) What the villagers

s-ʔawq̓aw-cut-aw tu-apsuł-tXʷ (166) ƛ̓ap-aw s-ka-cikʷ-
Der-put away Redp-Refl-they NProx-live-Dist (166) go-they Der-Unr-move-
did then was to pack up. (166) They set out on foot.

ał-m-aw (167) tix-kʷ-lu-c̓ tX ti-ał-k̓ʷn-us-tan[13]
foot-MP-they (167) be him-Quot-Expv-Perf he Prox-Res-direct-face-he/them
(167) The one who had been picked up by the sniniq̓ was the

ti-aɬ-k̓m-ɬɬ-im-t̓ayx   x-ta-sniniq̓-tX   (168) ƛ̓ap-
Prox-Res-pick up in mouth-DP-Pass-Prox   Prep-NProx-sniniq̓-Dist   (168) go-
one who showed them the way.   (168) They

aw   s-ka-cikʷ-aɬ-m-aw   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (169) ʔaw ... ʔaɬ-ta-sunxʷ-
they   Der-Unr-move-foot-MP-they   Prep-then   (169) yes ... Prep-NProx-day-
set out on foot then.   (169) Yes ... it was daylight

tXʷ   s-c̓kt-aw   ʔul-a-si-q̓lum-us-ck   aɬ-tXʷ
Dist   Der-reach-they   Prep-Prox-Der-climb-flat surface-InfDub   Prep-then
when they reached the place to climb then.

(170) ʔay-uc-m-im   slāXɬ-s   (171) slāXɬ-tum   wa-mnta-s-
(170) do-mouth-MP-Pass   slāXɬ-it   (171) slāXɬ-CPass   Prox-path-his-
(170) It was said that it was SlāXɬ.   (171) The sniniq̓'s path up (the

kʷ   ta-nanmk̓-tX   u-ƛ̓uk̓   (172) ʔay-s-c̓   aɬ-tXʷ   way
Quot   NProx-animal-Dist   Dir-high   (172) happen-it-Perf   Prep-then   OK
mountain) is called SlāXɬ.   (172) It happened then all right.

(173) Xim-s   (174) ƛ̓ap-aw-tu-c̓   s-ka-cikʷ-aɬ-m-aw
(173) dawn-it   (174) go-they-Conf-Perf   Der-Unr-move-foot-MP-they
(173) It was daylight.   (174) They set off upward on foot on the mountain.

u-ƛ̓uk̓   ʔaɬ-ta-smt-tX   (175) c̓kt-aw   uɬ-tXʷ
Dir-high   Prep-NProx-mountain-Dist   (175) reach-they   Prep-there
(175) They reached there.

(176) wix-k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-ka   tXʷ   s-Xy-us-m-s   t̓aX   ...
(176) be then-Quot-Contr-Usit   then   Der-bright-front-MP-he   that one ...
(176) Every now and then the animal would shine out at them.

ta-nanmk̓-tX   (177) nu-sxʷm-als-aq̓ʷs-timut-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu   t̓aXʷ
NProx-animal-Dist   (177) Agent-burn-side-eye-CRefl-he-Quot-Usit   that one
(177) The sniniq̓ made his eyelids flash like fire.

ta-sniniq̓-tX   (178) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ   x-ta-ʔaɬ-us-yul
NProx-sniniq̓-Dist   (178) Res-happen-it-Quot-Usit   Prep-NProx-Res-Dir-rub
(178) It would happen to the person that it came over.

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	(179)	ʔulX-anm-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu	t̓aX
NProx-person-Dist	(179)	act irrationally-LCDev-he-Quot-Usit	that one
	(179)	He would pass out.	

(180)	nu-maw-kʷ-lu-c̓	ta-ał-k̓m-łł-im-tX
(180)	human-one-Quot-Expv-Perf	NProx-Res-pick up in mouth-DP-Pass-Dist
(180)	The one who was carried off was the only one to whom it did not	

s-aXʷ	ʔal-a-cixʷ-s	(181)	ʔał-iłm-k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k	t̓aX
Der-Neg	Prep-Prox-what-it	(181)	Res-stand-Quot-Contr-Usit	that one
happen.		(181)	He would stand there.	

ʔał-tXʷ	(182)	ʔał-k̓x-s-c̓	ʔuł-ta-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ	(183)	lq̓-
Prep-there	(182)	Res-watch-he-Perf	Prep-NProx-person-Dist	(183)	think-
	(182)	He watched the people.		(183)	They

ay-layx-aw-c̓	ac	s-ka-ʔay-ał-tut	ał-ta-as-īXʷ-
Aux-IC-they-Perf	these	Der-Unr-do-container-CThey/it	Prep-NProx-Loc-top-
got the idea of putting it through the top of the animal's house.			

s	tu-suł-s	ta-nanmk̓-tX	(184)	ka-nīXʷ-s-c̓	s-ka-
its	NProx-house-his	NProx-animal-Dist	(184)	Unr-fire-it-Perf	Der-Unr-
			(184)	It will be on fire when	

kł-it	(185)	t̓cūł-it	ał-tXʷ	s-kł-it
drop-they/it	(185)	set on fire-they/it	Prep-then	Der-drop-they/it
they drop it.	(185)	They set it on fire then to drop it through the top		

ʔał-ta-as-īXʷ-s	tu-suł-tXʷ	(186)	sxʷm-c̓	s-nu-
Prep-NProx-Loc-top-its	NProx-house-Dist	(186)	burn-Perf	Der-Agent-
of the house.		(186)	It was burning as they	

tati-als-it	x-tXʷ	(187)	ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k
throw Redp-inside-they/it	Prep-then	(187)	Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
threw it then.		(187)	They didn't take long.

ayk̓-aw	ac	(188)	nu-s-q̓up-ał-ayx-a-
long time-they	these ones	(188)	Agent-Der-smoke-container-LCRes-they-
		(188)	They were suffocated.

kʷ-ma-c̓ t̓aXʷ (189) ʔat̓mn-aw ʔał-tXʷ ta-sniniq̓-tX
Quot-Dub-Perf those ones (189) die-they Prep-then NProx-sniniq̓-Dist
(189) The sniniq̓ and his children died then.

n tu-mamnc-s-tXʷ (190) ʔił-xnas-tū-ił
and NProx-children Redp-his-Dist (190) NProx-woman-NContr-Dist
(190) And his wife, too.

(191) ʔał-ʔay-naw ʔał-tXʷ s-tm-ʔałił-aw ał-ta-as-qa-
(191) Res-do-they Prep-then Der-just-stay-they Prep-NProx-Loc-outside-
(191) What they did then was just stay in front of his house.

ik-us tu-suł-s-tXʷ (192) samnt-
long horizontal axis-flat surface NProx-house-his-Dist (192) cement-
(192) It must

anł-s-ma-lu-ku t̓aXʷ (193) ʔay-naw c ʔał-tXʷ way
covering-it-Dub-Expv-Surp that one (193) do-they they Prep-then OK
have been made of cement. (193) What they did then was to think

s-ʔix-lq̓-m-aw al-a-ka-c̓k̓ta-tutit (194) wix-
Der-Distb-think-MP-they Prep-Prox-Unr-happen-Cthey/them (194) be then-
what to do with them. (194) This is

kʷ-i-c̓i-k ac way s-titi-lqs-ał-ī-tutim-kʷ-c̓n
Quot-Contr-Perf now OK Der-secure Redp-end-foot-Dim-CPass-Quot-Impf
when they had their claws left on them.

t̓aXʷ (195) ʔistux-im-c̓ tu-sniniq̓-ī-tXʷ (196) ti-
those ones (195) skin-Pass-Perf NProx-sniniq̓-Dim-Dist (196) secure-
(195) The little sniniq̓s were skinned. (196) They were

lqs-ał-ī-naw-c̓ ʔał-tu-sq̓atxīXʷak-aw-tXʷ (197) ʔay-naw
end-foot-Dim-they-Perf Prep-NProx-fingernail-their-Dist (197) do-they
left with their fingernails on. (197) They did

x-tXʷ (198) xʷp-lXs
Prep-then (198) unhook-end
it then. (198) It's the end.

REFERENCES

[1] The -ūc ~ yūc alternation is accounted for by a phonological rule that provides an epenthetic y following an unrounded vowel, i or a, before a vowel.

[2] The shape a for -naw 'they' is accounted for by two phonological rules. First, in certain morphemes $n \rightarrow \emptyset$ / [-Syll] ___ (Cf. note 7.) and second, $w \rightarrow \emptyset$ / ___ $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Labial}\\ -\text{Ejective}\end{bmatrix}$. That is, w's drop preceding labial consonants kʷ,qʷ,xʷ, and Xʷ, and before u (cf. q̓a ~ q̓aw in sentence 150. Note that no glide y appears in this context.)

[3] The form wi is a variant of wix 'be them/there/then' apparently grammatically conditioned by a following ka , Unrealized.

[4] Xł is a variant of ʔāXł (cf. sentence 46). The phrase 'upriver' consists of a preposition ʔuł 'to', a plural proximal deictic prefix wa, and ʔāXł. The fricative ł alternates with l before w, and the latter is deleted following affricates and fricatives (cf.,e.g.sentence 15). With the loss of ʔ (cf. note 11) the form ʔūlaāXł is produced. Speakers vary in the pronunciation of this form. The following have been recorded: [ʔɔ̄laXł], [ʔɔ̄llXł], and [ʔɔ̄l:Xł].

[5] The form q̓a alternates with q̓aw, e.g. sentence 15. Cf. note 2.

[6] The -s 'he/she/it' following t is frequently combined with the dental to form an affricate [c]; this varies with the sequence [tʰs] where the t is released and somewhat aspirated.

[7] Several morphemes (e.g. -nap 'you Pl',-naw 'they',etc.) show an alternation with a vowel initial shape (-ap and -aw). When the preceding segment is syllabic (vowel, liquid or nasal),e.g. sq̓ī 'scratched on skin', the n is present, e.g. sq̓īnaw. When non-syllabic, the n is absent. Furthermore, y and w behave as the syllabic segments, conditioning the n-variants, e.g. ʔay-naw [illegible]ney do'. Grouping vowels, glides, and syllabic liquids and nasals requires a disjunction of the two features, [Syll] and [Cons]. An alternative description is to consider postvocalic y and w to be underlying vowels, i.e., [+Syll] that become [-Syll] after the $n \rightarrow \emptyset$ rule, thus simplifying the latter.

[8] The Contrastive Conjunctive Particle ʔi- ...-k is discontinuous. Here the Perfective particle c̓ ~ c̓i appears between its two portions.

[9] The labialization of ?aXʷ is usually lost before a labialized, non-ejective consonant.

[10] Sequences of two identical non-stops are capable of being reduced to a single one. Here ?aɬ-ɬkʷ → ?aɬkʷ. In sentence 18, -aw wa- → -awa-, etc.

[11] Morpheme initial glottal stops behave in different ways. Some, e.g. ?i...k and ?aXʷ, may glottalize a preceding stop and be lost as a separate segment. Here, kʷ-?i → k̓ʷi. But glottalization in this combination of morphemes does not always occur. Cf. sentence 43. The Noncontrastive Conjunctive Particle, when followed by Negative ?aXʷ, i.e. ?ik-?aXʷ, is always ?ik̓aXʷ. Cf. sentence 48. In a second class of morphemes, glottal stops (present initially) simply drop in non-slow speech, especially when non-initial; they occur in hiatus.

[12] The Usitative k̓ʷ varies freely with k̓ʷu. Cf. sentence 55 with 131. In this text k̓ʷu is the more frequent: 24 to 5. The Noncontrastive Conjunctive Particle ?i...k has two additional, variant shapes, ?it...k and ?it...ka, when the Usitative is affixed. The choice between them is free. Cf. sentence 47 with 56. The last two variants occur with about equal frequency in this text: ?it...k, 5 times and ?it...ka, 4 times.

[13] The ending -tan 'he/them' or 'they/them' occurs in clauses of restricted modification wherein the Agent of the Comment is the modified head of the clause, e.g. k̓x-tis 'he sees them' and ti-?imlk ti-k̓x-tan-tx 'the man who sees them'. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1973.

* * * * * *

Sniniq̓

Once a young man decided to find out what was becoming of the corpses of some of the villagers around here. It was thought the creature known as Sniniq̓ was taking the dead off somewheres, but no-one knew for sure what became of them. The young man got his best friend to lace him up in a bearskin shroud and put him up in a tree. When someone died, it was the custom for the mourners to wail and sing the dead person's song. The friend got some women to act as mourners, and they wailed and sang the young man's song. They worked themselves into such a state that they were crying as if he were really dead. After dark the mourners left and the friend was alone watching over his 'dead' buddy. Suddenly the Sniniq̓ was there. He went right up to the shrouded person and carried him off in his pack. The friend ran to the village and told them that the Sniniq̧ had carried the young man off upriver. Then the women really cried.

Meanwhile the Sniniq̧ was packing the young man upriver along the riverbank towards a distant mountain. The trip was not easy on the Sniniq̧. There were several windfalls on the path going up the mountain. The Sniniq̧ always crawled under the trees - never tried to jump or climb over them. The young man managed to grab one of the trees as the Sniniq̧ went under one of the windfalls. He held on with all his strength making the Sniniq̧ work harder and harder to break free. Finally the young man couldn't hold on any longer and the Sniniq̧ continued on. The young man farted. This made the Sniniq̧ suspicious and he unpacked the man and felt his stomach for signs of breathing. The young man held his breath until the Sniniq̧ stopped and repacked him. The Sniniq̧ started talking to Salmon.

Finally the Sniniq̧ came to his house. He lives in a real house and has lots of children too. Well, he got there and unpacked the young man in front of his house. He unlaced the bearskin shroud. Sniniq̧'s children came running up to the young man. They started to play with his testicles - bouncing them up and down in their hands. One said, "Maybe I'll get these made into earrings for me." The young man had to work hard to keep from laughing. It tickled to have his testicles shaken.

"Ai, don't talk like that," said the Sniniq̧. "Don't talk like that. There's something different about this one."

They left him as they went back to the house to fetch something. The young man looked around and spied a spear among the various things hanging on the wall.

The Sniniq̧ returned and began to blow on the young man the way you blow on an animal's fur when you are looking for a place to start skinning it. At the same time he kept feeling the man's stomach. Then he made a cut right down the middle of his throat and the man began to holler like Raven. He hollered and clapped his hands as he rose up. Sniniq̧ and his children fell backwards from the surprise. The young man ran into the house, grabbed the spear off the wall and ran off down the mountain. As he reached level ground he discovered that Sniniq̧ was gaining on him. At first he couldn't think what to do, but he got the idea of diving into the river. So he did. He swam underwater to the far shore. When he came up he saw the Sniniq̧ standing on the other shore watching for where he would come up so he could cross the river there and continue to chase the young man. Just as Sniniq̧ was halfway across the river, the young man dove in again and swam underwater towards the shore from which the Sniniq̧ had just come. When he surfaced he saw the Sniniq̧ on the opposite shore watching for him. Again, as before, he waited for the Sniniq̧ to get halfway across before he dove in the river and swam underwater to the other shore. They did this over and over again, gradually working their way downriver. Each time they crossed, the Sniniq̧ got a little closer. By this time, the blood from the cut on his throat had made the young man hardly recognizable. When he finally surfaced and came ashore on the sandbar his friends and relatives were on, they weren't at first sure it was him.

"You better stop crying!" the friend told the women. "He may be the one we are mourning."

They stopped and waited. The young man sensed that they didn't recognize him and kept his spear in front of him. After a while he said, "There are many shrouds in Sniniq̓'s house." Then they all knew it was him.

The people gathered to decide what to do. After a lot of talking, one man had an idea that they could all agree to. They collected used menstrual pads and put them into a bundle. They all packed up and set out on foot for the Sniniq̓'s house. The young man led the way. It was daylight when they reached the foot of the mountain. The path to Sniniq̓'s house on the mountain was named SlaXł. They started to climb the mountain. Sniniq̓ watched them from his window. When they got close he caused a ray to flash from his eyes. Everybody except the young man was stunned by the ray. Gradually their strength returned and they continued up the trail. Then the Sniniq̓ flashed his eye ray on them again, and they were all stunned except for the young man. He waited until they got their strength back and then led them farther up the trail until the next flash attack stunned them. This kept up. But each time the people seemed to recover more quickly from the ray. Finally they reached the house. Someone climbed up on the roof of the house and set the bundle of used menstrual pads on fire and lowered it down the smoke hole into Sniniq̓'s house.

It didn't take long for Sniniq̓ and his family to suffocate. The villagers stood before the house which seemed to be made of cement and tried to figure out what to do. Finally they decided to skin the Sniniq̓s and they did so, leaving the claws on the pelts.

And that's the end.

(1)	way	(2)	ˀay-ūc-timut-c-su-c̓	x-ac	s-ka-sm̄sma-
(1)	OK	(2)	do-mouth-CRefl-I-Expb-Perf	Prep-Prox	Der-Unr-tell story
(1)	OK.	(2)	I'll try to tell the story about those who got angry and		

c	ˀał-ta-ˀayk̓	ta-sx-lix-likt-m-tXʷ
Redp-I	Prep-NProx-long time	NProx-bad-Inch-completely-MP-Dist
ran away a long time ago.		

(3)	nu-mūs-a-kʷ	t̓aXʷ	...	ta-sx-lix-likt-m-tXʷ
(3)	human-four-they-Quot	those ones	...	NProx-bad-Inch-completely-MP-Dist
(3)	There were four of them... the ones who got angry and ran away.			

(4)	ˀaX-kʷ	ałnap-it	s-ka-umat-ał-aw	ał-tXʷ	(5)	ˀay-
(4)	Neg-Quot	know-they/it	Der-Unr-get to-foot-they	Prep-then	(5)	do-
(4)	They didn't know where they were going then.				(5)	They

ał-a-kʷ-ma-ku-c̓	tXʷ	ˀuł-ti-ˀuc̓ik-s	wa-sunxʷ-ac
foot-they-Quot-Dub-Surp-Perf	they	Prep-Prox-on top-its	Prox-world-Prox
are said to have walked to the top of the world... these people.			

...	tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ	(6)	c̓Xmayx-kʷ-c̓	s-ˀaXʷ-s	ti-ka-ał-ay-
...	NProx-person-Dist	(6)	true-Quot-Perf	Der-Neg-it	Prox-Unr-Res-do-
		(6)	They really had no idea how it was they would		

ak-mi-cut-aw-c̓	ał-tXʷ	s-ka-lip̓-ał-ayx-aw	uł
hand-MP-Refl-they-Perf	Prep-then	Der-Unr-return-foot-LCRes-they	Prep-
get back to earth then.			

ti-kuł-ulmx-t̓awt	(7)	ˀixix-q̓m-a-kʷ	(8)	k̓x-it-
Prox-surface-earth-here	(7)	Distb Redp-step-they-Quot	(8)	see-they/him-
	(7)	They kept walking.	(8)	They saw a

kʷ-c̓	t̓aXʷ	ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	(9)	k̓x-it-kʷ-c̓
Quot-Perf	those ones	NProx-person-Dist	(9)	see-they/him-Quot-Perf
person.			(9)	They saw a person.

(10) ʔay-uc-a-kʷ-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-aXʷ-s ka-ałnap-liwa-cut-
(10) do-mouth-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-Unr-Neg-it Unr-know-Sim-Refl-
(10) They said then that they didn't realize where they were.

aw-c̓ ʔal-a-ka-amat-aw (11) ƛ̓msta-nix-it-kʷ
they-Perf Prep-Prox-Unr-stay-they (11) person-LC-they/it-Quot
(11) They thought it was a person.

(12) tix-kʷ-ma-ku ti-nuq̓iłāXta-t̓ayx.. ta-ƛ̓msta-nix-it-tX
(12) be he-Quot-Dub-Surp Prox-spider-Prox... NProx-person-LC-they/it-Dist
(12) The one they thought was a person was really a spider.

(13) k̓ʷnta-cut-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ ... ta-syut-tX ʔuł-tXʷ
(13) decide-Refl-he-Quot-Perf that one ... NProx-spirit-Dist Prep-them
(13) The spirit told his plan to them.

(14) way (15) ka-yaya-liwa-timut-ap-ma (16) nmp-imut-ap
(14) OK (15) Unr-good Redp-Sim-CRefl-you-Dub (16) put into-CRefl-you
(14) OK. (15) "You must be brave. (16) Get in here.

ʔul-a-ac (17) ʔlX-tułap (18) ʔlX-tułap
Prep-Prox-here (17) stretched out-we/you (18) stretched out-we/you
(17) We'll let you down. (18) We'll let you down to

ʔūXnk ... ʔuł-ta-kuł-ulmx-ap cut-s-kʷ-i-c̓i-k
downward ... Prep-NProx-surface-earth-your say-he-Quot-Contr-Perf
your earth," the spirit said to them.

ta-syut-tX ʔuł-tXʷ (19) ʔał-k̓x-ip-m-it-k̓u-k tx
NProx-spirit-Dist Prep-them (19) Res-see-you/it-Dub-Contr-Usit him
(19) You must have see him.

(20) wa-ʔał-ʔay-c x-a-ix-lX-ayx-ī ʔal-a-
(20) Prox-Res-do-Prox Prep-Prox-Distb-stretched out-LCRes-Dim Prep-Prox-
(20) They're like little strings in the daytime... these sort of shiny

sunxʷ-ac ... wa-pik̓-liwa-ac (21) wix-kʷ c wa-q̓lsxʷ-s
day-Prox ... Prox-shiny-Sim-Prox (21) be they-Quot they Prox-rope-his
things. (21) They are the spider's ropes.

ti-nuq̓iłāXta-t̓ayx (22) puƛ̓-tutis-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx ał-tXʷ
Prox-spider-Prox (22) come-Che/they-Quot-Perf this one Prep-then
(22) He sent them then when he tied up the top after

s-ka-nu-sXp-īXʷ-tis-kʷ-c̓ s-nmp-ayx-a-kʷ-c̓
Der-Unr-agent-tie-top-he/them-Quot-Perf Der-put into-LCRes-they-Quot-Perf
they had gotten into the basket.

ʔuł-ta-c̓la-tXʷ (23) c̓la-kʷ-tu (24) ʔumat-tutim
Prep-NProx-basket-Dist (23) basket-Quot-Conf (24) get to-CPass
(23) It really was a basket. (24) They were made

tXʷ s-nułp-tim (25) ƛ̓ap-uc-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-syut-tX
they Der-pack-Pass (25) go-mouth-he-Quot-Perf NProx-spirit-Dist
to go when they were packed. (25) The spirit began to speak to them.

uł-tXʷ (26) ʔaXʷ-taXʷ (27) ʔaXʷ-qʷi-yŭs-m-ap ka-ti-
Prep-them (26) Neg-Impr (27) Neg-open-face-MP-you Unr-secure-
(26) "Don't do it. (27) Don't show your face if you get

lx-uł-ap ʔal-a-ka-si-ti-lx-ap (28) wix-kʷ-c̓
Inch-body-you Prep-Prox-Unr-Der-secure-Inch-you (28) be they-Quot-Perf
caught whatever it is." (28) It was the clouds

a-sk̓inwas-ac si-ti-lx-aw ac (29) ka-ti-lx-
Prox-cloud-Prox Der-secure-Inch-they these ones (29) Unr-secure-Inch-
they got caught on. (29) They'll get

uł-aw ʔał-tXʷ ... ʔal-a-sk̓inuwas-ac (30) wix-kʷ-i-
body-they Prep-there ... Prep-Prox-cloud-Prox (30) be then-Quot-Contr-
caught there... on the clouds. (30) "This is when you'll

c̓i-ka c s-ka-ʔał-wik̓-cut-ap (31) ʔał-wik̓-cut-ap
Perf then Der-Unr-Res-work loose-Refl-you (31) Res-work loose-Refl-you
work yourselves loose. (31) You work yourselves

ʔał-c s-ka-xʷp-ayx-ap (32) xʷp-ayx-ap-kʷ-tu-c̓
Prep-then Der-Unr-untie-LCRes-you (32) untie-LCRes-you-Quot-Conf-Perf
loose then to get untied. (32) You'll get free again.

(33) wix-i-lu-c̓i-ka c s-ka-c̓Xɬmayx-ap s-ka-q̓uX-lx-
(33) be then-Contr-Expv-Perf then Der-Unr-true-you Der-Unr-tired-Inch-
(33) When you get really tired without getting loose, then you uncover

ap s-ʔaXʷ ka-xʷp-ayx-ap s-qʷi-yūs-m-ap-c̓ ... s-ka-
you Der-Neg Unr-untie-LCRes-you Der-open-face-MP-you-Perf ... Der-Unr-
your faces ... then it will be your earth that you're caught on," the

tix-s-lu-c̓ ta-kuɬ-ulmx-ap-t̓aX ti-ka-si-ti-lx-
be it-it-Expv-Perf NProx-surface-earth-your-Mid Prox-Unr-Der-secure-Inch-
person said.

uɬ-ap cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (34) wix-lu-c̓
body-you say-he-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist (34) be they-Expv-Perf
(34) "You'll have these

ac s-ka-ɬx-aɬ-ʔay-ak-ap cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-syut-
these ones Der-Unr-have-Res-do-hand-you say-he-Quot-Perf NProx-spirit-
things with you," the spirit told them.

tX ʔuɬ-tXʷ (35) ʔaɬ-ʔay-na-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k t̓aXʷ
Dist Prep-them (35) Res-do-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf those ones
(35) But what they did was to take the person's words.

s-ʔaɬ-ip̓-it tu-s-ƛ̓yuk-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (36) ƛ̓msta-
Der-Res-take-they/it NProx-Der-talk-his NProx-person-Dist (36) person-
(36) They

nix-it-kʷ-tu ʔaɬ-tXʷ (37) ʔaw (38) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓
LC-they/him-Quot-Conf Prep-then (37) yes (38) do-they-Quot-Perf
really thought he was a person then. (37) Yes. (38) Their basket got

s-c̓kt-uɬ-aw-c̓ uɬ-ti-kuɬ-ulmx-t̓ayx (39) qʷi-yūs-
Der-reach-round-they-Perf Prep-Prox-surface-earth-Prox (39) open-face-
to earth. (39) They un-

m-a-kʷ-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ (40) s-tu-wix-kʷ-tu-ya
MP-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then (40) Der-NProx-be here-Quot-Conf-Incomp
covered their faces then. (40) So it was really around here their

ʔawxʷa wa-ʔumat-uł-aw ał-tXʷ (41) wix-kʷ-i-
surrounding area Prox-get to-round-they Prep-then (41) be it-Quot-Contr-
basket got to then. (41) This is what was

lu-c̓i-k s-ʔał-k̓ʷnta-m (42) ʔał-k̓ʷnta-liwa-łł-tim-kʷ t̓aXʷ
Expv-Perf Der-Res-decide-MP (42) Res-decide-Sim-DP-Pass-Quot those ones
given as directions. (42) They were given directions.

(43) wa-ał-ʔay-c̓-Prox x-a-q̓ʷpuc-c (44) ʔał-k̓x-ił
(43) Prox-Res-do-Perf-Prox Prep-Prox-net-Prox (44) Res-see-we/it
(43) These things are like nets. (44) We see them inside

ʔal-a-as-txʷ-ił-ac ʔal-a-ma-ƛ̓ap-c (45) ʔał-ʔay-s
Prep-Prox-Loc-inside-out-Prox Prep-Prox-one time-go-Prox (45) Res-do-it
our houses once in a while. (45) They look

x-a-q̓ʷpuc-c s-ʔał-ʔix-lX-s ʔal-a-ʔał-ʔay-ʔac
Prep-Prox-net-Prox Der-Res-Distb-stretched out-it Prep-Prox-Res-do-Prox
like nets when they're spun around here.

(46) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k ac wa-q̓ʷpuc-s ti-nuq̓iłāXta-tx
(46) be they-Quot-Contr-Perf these ones Prox-net-its Prox-spider-Prox
(46) It's those that are the spider's nets.

(47) ʔay-naw-c̓ s-ʔay-naw wa-nuX-nix-tis ti-
(47) do-they-Perf Der-do-they Prox-tangle/caught-LC-he/them Prox-
(47) The spider catches all kinds of things in them ... in his net.

nuq̓iłāXta-tx ʔal-a-wix-c ... ʔał-ti-q̓ʷpuc-s-tx
spider-Prox Prep-Prox-be they-Prox ... Prep-Prox-net-his-Prox

(48) ʔa ... mamis ... a-cay (49) ƛ̓ap s-ʔał-lXʷ-ił-k̓ʷ
(48) uh ... fly ... Prox-all (49) go Der-Res-watch-we/him-Usit
(48) Uh ... flies ... anything. (49) We watch him when he goes.

(50) nu-k̓x-likʷ-k̓ʷ ti-nuq̓iłāXta-tx s-ʔał-lXʷ-ił
(50) agent-see-everything-Usit Prox-spider-Prox Der-Res-watch-we/it
(50) The spider goes to check his net while we watch him.

(51) wayx   s-ks-tis-c̓   a-mamis-ʔac   way   ʔał-c   ...
(51) be the time   Der-pull-he/them-Perf   Prox-fly-Prox   OK   Prep-there...
(51) Then he pulls the flies from it, OK... from his net.

ʔał-ti-q̓ʷpuc-s   (52) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka   tXʷ   way   s-ʔał-k̓ʷntn-
Prep-Prox-net-his   (52) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf   it   OK   Der-Res-decide-
(52) This is what they were shown how to do, OK, so

āk-tim-kʷ-c̓   t̓aXʷ   s-ka-ał-ʔay-s   x-tXʷ   ʔal-a-
hand-Pass-Quot-Perf   those ones   Der-Unr-Res-do-it   Prep-then   Prep-Prox-
they could get food on earth.

ka-si-puƛ̓-uc-nimut-aw   ʔał-ti-kuł-ulmx-t̓awt   (53) ʔay-naw
Unr-Der-come-mouth-LCRefl-they   Prep-Prox-surface-earth-here   (53) do-they
(53) Then

x-tXʷ   s-nax-liwa-nimut-aw-tu-c̓   (54) lip̓-ał-ayx-
Prep-then   Der-ready-Sim-LCRefl-they-Conf-Perf   (54) return-foot-LCRes-
they made ready.   (54) They got back to

a-kʷ   uł-ti-kuł-ulmx-t̓ayx   ał-tXʷ   (55) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓
they-Quot   Prep-Prox-surface-earth-Prox   Prep-then   (55) go-they-Quot-Perf
earth then.   (55) They began to

ʔac   way   s-ka-ks-txʷ-uc-m-aw   (56) ʔaX-kʷ   ʔayk̓-aw
these ones   OK   Der-Unr-fix-C-mouth-MP-they   (56) Neg-Quot   long ago-they
fix their own food.   (56) The people weren't long

ał-tXʷ   s-s-k̓ʷał-am-nimut-aw   tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ   (57) way
Prep-Dist   Der-Der-settle-CD-LCRefl-they   NProx-person-Dist   (57) OK
in getting where they could support themselves.   (57) OK.

(58) ʔał-ʔay-ma   x-t̓aXʷ   (59) way   (60) q̓ʷXʷ-uc-m-c̓-i-
(58) Res-do-Dub   Prep-those ones   (59) OK   (60) move-mouth-MP-I-Contr-
(58) That is done with.   (59) OK.   (60) I'll move on now to

s-c̓i-k   ʔul-anayk-m-ł-is   c̓ayx   s-ka-sm̄sma-c
Expb-Perf   Prep-want-Tr-Mid-she/it   this one   Der-Unr-tell a story Redp-I
what she wanted me to tell about.

(61)	ʔał-tu-wayx-ī-kʷ-i-c̓i-k	ʔac	(62)	nu-
(61)	Prep-Prox-be the time-Dim-Quot-Contr-Perf	these things	(62)	human-
(61)	These things happened not too long ago.		(62)	There

mūs-a-kʷ-tu	t̓aXʷ	...	tu-cacl-uks-ī-tXʷ
four-they-Quot-Conf	those ones	...	NProx-young person-Pl-Dim-Dist
were four people ... young people.			

(63)	k̓ʷnta-cut-a-kʷ-c̓	s-ka-ƛ̓ap-aw	ʔul-aƛ̓s
(63)	decide-Refl-they-Quot-Perf	Der-Unr-go-they	Prep-direction from water
(63)	They planned to go inland...to Anaheim Lake.		

...	ʔuł-ʔanuXimlīk	...	tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ	(64)	ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓
...	Prep-Anaheim Lake	...	NProx-person-Dist	(64)	go-they-Quot-Perf
				(64)	They set out moving

t̓aXʷ	s-ka-cikʷ-ał-m-aw	ʔūl-Xł	(65)	ʔil-us-
those ones	Der-Unr-start-foot-MP-they	Prep-upriver	(65)	pass-front-
upriver.			(65)	They were

it-kʷ-c̓	ʔac	ti-smt-t̓ayx	...	ti-slaXlakʷaył-
they/it-Quot-Perf	these ones	Prox-mountain-Prox	...	Prox-slaXlakʷaył-
passing this mountain called SlaXlakʷaył.				

tum-t̓ayx	(66)	slaXakʷaył	cut-aw-kʷ	uł-tx	(67)	ti-smayana-
CPass-Prox	(66)	slaXakʷaył	say-they-Quot	Prep-it	(67)	Prox-Smayana-
	(66)	They called it SlaXakʷaył.			(67)	The one called

tum	(68)	tix-kʷ	t̓aw-tx	(69)	ti-smayana	ti-smt-
CPass	(68)	be it-Quot	here-Prox	(69)	Prox-Smayana	Prox-mountain-
Smayana.	(68)	That's the one.		(69)	The mountain is Smayana.	

t̓ayx	(70)	ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓	ta-nu-maw-tX	s-ka-cik̓-is
Prox	(70)	go-he-Quot-Perf	NProx-human-one-Dist	Der-Unr-stab-he/it
	(70)	One of them began to stab about in the base of it...		

ta-ʔas-uł-āX-s-kʷ	...	ti-nusqlata-s	slaXlakʷaył
NProx-Loc-distributed-bottom-its-Quot	...	Prox-water pot-its	SlaXlakʷaył
SlaXlakʷaył's waterpot.			

(71) ɬk̓m-s-kʷ-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ ta-λ̓msta-tX (72) ʔaXʷ-ku-ks-
(71) speak-he-Quot-Perf Prep-then NProx-person-Dist (72) Neg-Surp-Ind-
(71) The man spoke then. (72) "Has the

a sm̄sma-ɬɬ-m-s ti-sma-ɬɬ-t̓ayx cut-kʷ
question tell story Redp-DP-MP-it Prox-at the beginning-DP-Prox say-Quot
story of this creation not been told?" the man said.

ta-λ̓msta-tX (73) ʔaw (74) ks-is-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx ta-
NProx-person-Dist (73) yes (74) pull-he/it-Quot-Perf this one NProx-
(73) Yes. (74) He pulled his cane out.

mila-s-tX (75) c̓Xmayx-kʷ-c̓ s-ʔun-ʔay-ūɬ-s x-ti-
cane-his-Dist (75) true-Quot-Perf Der-try-do-distributed-it Prep-Prox-
(75) It actually began to get bigger from snakes coiling

papink ... ta-mila-s-tX (76) λ̓ap-a-kʷ-alu-c̓ ac
snake ... NProx-cane-his-Dist (76) go-they-Quot-Att-Perf these ones
about it ... his cane. (76) They began to run.

s-ka-λ̓ikm-aw (77) ka-ɬXʷ-m-aw (78) ʔaɬ-tam-pɬt-lx-
Der-Unr-run-they (77) Unr-flee-MP-they (78) Res-make-thick -Inch-
(77) They were running away. (78) Their path got

aw-c̓ tu-papink-tXʷ aɬ-tu-mnta-naw-tXʷ (79) λ̓ikm-a-
they-Perf NProx-snake-Dist Prep-NProx-path-their-Dist (79) run-they-
thick with snakes. (79) They went

kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ (80) tm-ʔaay-ɬ-a-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k
Quot-Perf those ones (80) just-do-foot-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
fast. (80) They just gave up.

t̓aXʷ (81) tm-ʔay-ɬ-a-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k̓ ʔac
those ones (81) just-do-foot-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf these ones
(81) They just quit.

(82) qup̓-uɬ-ayx-a-kʷ-c̓ (83) ʔaX-kʷ-c̓ ti-ka-si-
(82) strike-body-LCRes-they-Quot-Perf (83) Neg-Quot-Perf Prox-Unr-Der-
(82) They were knocked down. (83) There was nothing the people

yał-ʔay-ak-mi-cut-aw-c'   ał-tXʷ   tu-ƛ'msta-tXʷ   (84) nu-
Res-do-hand-MP-Refl-they-Perf   Prep-then   NProx-person-Dist   (84) human-
could do to help themselves then.   (84) There

maw-ī-kʷ-i-c'i-k   ta-ninic-tX   (85) ʔas-tq'łn-lXs-an-
one-Dim-Quot-Contr-Perf   NProx-alive Redp-Dist   (85) Loc-knife-end-corner-
was only one alive.   (85) He had a knife on

ił-s-kʷ   (86) ʔanu-łc'ma-m-is   ta-tq'ła-tX   (87) tix-
genital-he-Quot   (86) Cont-belt-Tr-he/it   NProx-knife-Dist   (87) be he-
his hip.   (86) He was carrying the knife on his belt. (87) He was

kʷ-i-c'i-k   t'ayx   s-ka-ckʷ-lx-aw   ta-ixa-s-tXʷ   ...
Quot-Contr-Perf   this one   Der-Unr-heavy-Inch-they   NProx-leg-his-Dist...
the one whose legs began to feel heavy, and his arms, too.

ta-suxa-s-tXʷ-tū   (88) ƛ'ap-tus-kʷ-k'ʷ   ta-tq'ła-s-tX
NProx-arm-his-Dist-NContr   (88) go-Che/it-Quot-Usit   NProx-knife-his-Dist
(88) He would use the knife to cut them in half.

(89) xʷāxʷ-lx-ī-s-kʷ-k'ʷ   ta-ƛ'msta-tX   (90) ʔay-tus-kʷ-
(89) light-Inch-Dim-he-Quot-Usit   NProx-person-Dist   (90) do-Che/it-Quot-
(89) The man would get lighter.   (90) And he would

tū   ʔał-ta-suxa-s-tXʷ   (91) c'Xmayx-a-kʷ-lu-c'   s-
NContr   Prep-NProx-arm-his-Dist   (91) true-they-Quot-Expv-Perf   Der-
do it to his arms.   (91) They coiled around his body... the

q'aw-ł-cut-aw   ʔuł-ta-kʷst-s-tXʷ   ...   tu-papink-tXʷ
hang up-body-Refl-they   Prep-NProx-body-his-Dist ...   NProx-snake-Dist
snakes.

(92) sm-papink-ī-na-kʷ-tu   tu-stntn-ī
(92) from the beginning-snake-Dim-they-Quot-Conf   NProx-tree Redp-Dim
(92) The bushes have had snakes there on the side of SlaXlakʷaył from the

ʔal-a-ac   ʔal-a-kuł-als-t'ayx   ʔał-ta-slaXlakʷaył-tum
Prep-Prox-here   Prep-Prox-surface-side-Prox   Prep-NProx-slaXlakʷaył-CPass
beginning of time.

(93) wa-cay-kʷ-c̓   s-papink-ūs-ī-naw   wa-stntn-ī
(93) Prox-all-Quot-Perf   Der-snake-face-Dim-they   Prox-tree Redp-Dim
(93) Every stick was the likeness of a snake's face.

(94) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k   x-tXʷ   s-nic-m-aw
(94) Res-do-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf   Prep-them   Der-live-MP-they
(94) It's just as if they came alive.

(95) c̓kt-ak-m-tim-kʷ-c̓   tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ   (96) tm-ʔalac̓-ay-
(95) reach-hand-MP-Pass-Quot-Perf   NProx-person-Dist   (96) just-tell-Aux-
(95) That's what they did to those people.   (96) The man just

layx-ī-ł-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k   ti-ƛ̓msta-t̓ayx   ał-tXʷ   ʔał-tu-
IC-Dim-Mid-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf   Prox-person-Prox   Prep-them   Prep-NProx-
managed to tell about them where he got to and went inside that that's the

umat-s-tXʷ   s-ʔus-txʷ-s   s-ʔał-ʔay-naw   x-tXʷ
get to-he-Dist   Der-Dir-inside-he   Der-Res-do-they   Prep-then
way they were.

(97) ʔayaw-s-m-tim   ʔał-slaXlakʷaył   (98) ʔał-ʔay-s-kʷ-
(97) exchange-face-MP-Pass   Prep-slaXlakʷaył   (98) Res-do-it-Quot-
(97) They were changed/transformed at SlaXlakʷaył.   (98) That's how it

c̓   x-tXʷ   (99) s-maw-kʷ   ta-tq̓ła-tX   si-c̓kt-s
Perf   Prep-then   (99) Der-one-Quot   NProx-knife-Dist   Der-reach-he
was then.   (99) The knife is the only reason the man reached the

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   ʔuł-ta-apsuł-tX   ...   ʔał-ʔanuXimlīk
NProx-person-Dist   Prep-NProx-village-Dist ...   Prep-Anaheim Lake
village, Anaheim Lake.

(100) tm-ʔał-ʔay-ł-k̓ʷ   x-t̓aXʷ   s-ʔalac̓ī-tumułt   tu-
(100) just-Res-do-foot-Usit   Prep-those ones   Der-tell-Cthey/me   NProx-
(100) That's as far as it went when the old people told me about these

łlk̓ʷlx-łł-tXʷ   ʔal-a-wix-ac   ʔal-a-sm̄sma-
old person Redp-DP-Dist   Prep-Prox-be they-Prox   Prep-Prox-tell story Redp-
things in the stories.

ɬɬ-ac (101) ʔaɬaɬ-cim-aw ʔuɬ-ɬmiɬ s-ka-aɬaɬ-cim-ɬ
DP-Prox (101) Res Redp-talk-they Prep-us Der-Unr-Res Redp-talk-we
(101) They talked to us so that we could talk to our children

ul-a-mamnc-iɬ-ac s-ka-ʔaXʷ-s ka-aɬaɬ-ʔay-liwa-naw
Prep-Prox-child Redp-our-Prox Der-Unr-Neg-it Unr-Res Redp-do-Sim-they
in order that they might not do the same in things that happen at the

ʔal-a-ʔaɬ-ʔay x-c wa-c̓kta ... ʔal-a-slaX-ɬɬ-kʷ
Prep-Prox-Res-do Prep-they Prox-happen ... Prep-Prox-many-DP-Quot
many creations on earth.

wa-sma-ɬɬ ʔal-a-kuɬ-ulmx-ac (102) ʔaɬ-ʔay-na-
Prox-at the beginning-DP Prep-Prox-surface-earth-Prox (102) Res-do-they-
(102) They are

kʷ x-c (103) slaX-aw (104) way (105) ʔaɬ-ʔay-
Quot Prep-they (103) many-they (104) OK (105) Res-do-
like that. (103) There are many of them. (104) OK. (105) They

kʷ-i-c̓i-k x-t̓aXʷ way (106) ʔalac̓i-c-c̓ x-tXʷ
Quot-Contr-Perf Prep-those ones OK (106) tell-I-Perf Prep-them
were like that, all right. (106) I told about them.

(107) way (108) q̓ʷXʷ-uc-m-c-ʔi-c̓i-k ʔūɬ-ti-Xaq̇ans-ṫayx
(107) OK (108) move-mouth-MP-I-Contr-Perf Prep-Prox-crane-Prox
(107) OK. (108) I'll go on to the crane.

(109) ʔaɬ-caXʷ-m-s-kʷ ta-Xaqans-tX ʔal-a-nukali-s
(109) Res-stand in water-MP-he-Quot NProx-crane-Dist Prep-Prox-middle-its
(109) The crane was wading in the middle of the river here.

wa-ʔanuXʷum-ac (110) k̓x-im-kʷ-c̓ x-ta-nu-maw ta-
Prox-river-Prox (110) see-Pass-Quot-Perf Prep-NProx-human-one NProx-
(110) It was seen by a man there who was further up the

ƛ̓msta-tX aɬ-tXʷ ʔaɬ-ta-āXɬ-t̓aXʷ (111) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓
person-Dist Prep-there Prep-NProx-upriver-Mid (111) go-he-Quot-Perf
river. (111) He began to stalk

t̓ayx s-ka-k̓up-lx-is t̓ayx ti-aɬ-caXʷ-m-
this one Der-Unr-stalk-Inch-he/it this one Prox-Res-stand in water-MP-
the one who was standing in the river... the one who was fishing.

t̓ayx ʔal-a-anuXʷum-ac ... ta-ka-smɬk-kʷ-ma-ku-tX
Prox Prep-Prox-river-Prox ... NProx-acquire-fish-Quot-Dub-Surp-Dist

(112) ka-smɬk-kʷu t̓ayx (113) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ
(112) acquire-fish-Quot this one (113) do-he-Quot-Perf Prep-there
(112) He was fishing. (113) What he was doing there was

s-cik̓-tis tu-smɬk-tXʷ aɬ-ta-siɬmak-s-tX
Der-spear-he/them NProx-fish-Dist Prep-NProx-fish trap-his-Dist
sticking the fish in the man's fish trap.

(114) ʔaɬ-k̓up-lx-im-kʷ-c̓ x-ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
(114) Res-stalk-Inch-Pass-Quot-Perf Prep-NProx-person-Dist
(114) He was stalked by the man.

(115) xʷin-nimut-s (116) xʷin-nimut-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx
(115) discover-CRefl-he (116) discover-CRefl-he-Quot-Perf this one
(115) He became aware. (116) He became aware of the man who was stalk-

ʔuɬ-ti-ƛ̓msta ti-aɬ-k̓up-lx-t-t̓ayx (117) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s-kʷ-
Prep-Prox-person Prox-Res-stalk-Inch-he/him-Prox (117) Res-do-he-Quot-
ing him. (117) What happened

c̓ x-tXʷ s-ʔaɬaɬ-cim-nix-is-tu-c̓ ʔuɬ-cnɬ ta-
Perf Prep-then Der-Res Redp-talk-LC-he/it-Conf-Perf Prep-him NProx-
then was that he thought the spirit was talking to him.

syut-tX (118-19)ʔix-ɬuɬkʷala-cut-tum-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx
spirit-Dist (118-19)Distb-becoming apt Redp-Refl-CPass-Quot-Perf this one
(118-19)He was being made to be apt.

(120) ti-can-t̓ayx (121) can-kʷ ta-siɬmak-s ta-Xaq̓ans-
(120) Prox-spear-Prox (121) spear-Quot NProx-fishtrap-his NProx-crane-
(120) It's the spear. (121) The spear is the man's fishtrap.

tX (122) ta-si-ʔay-ak-s-tX s-cick̓-tis tu-
Dist (122) NProx-Der-do-hand-his-Dist Der-stick Redp-he/them NProx-
(122) It is what the spirit uses when he spears fish in the water

smɬk-tX aɬ-ta-qla-tXʷ si-puƛ̓-uc-nimut-s-kʷ ta-
fish-Dist Prep-NProx-water-Dist Der-come-mouth-LCRefl-he-Quot NProx-
so that he can get something to eat.

syut-tX (123) ɬukʷala-yamk-is-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx ʔal-a-ac ...
spirit-Dist (123) be apt-Pat-he/it-Quot-Perf this one Prep-Prox-here...
(123) He... the man, got it there by virtue of his power.

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (124) q̓ɬkʷ-is-kʷ-lu-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ s-ka-
NProx-person-Dist (124) prepare-he/it-Quot-Expv-Perf Prep-then Der-Unr-
(124) He got ready then to fix it for him (the man)...

ks-tus ʔuɬ-ta-s-cnɬ-s-tX ... ta-s-ɬukʷala-tum-tX
fix-Che/it Prep-NProx-Der-him-he-Dist ... NProx-Der-be apt-CPass-Dist
the heavy object he was given.

(125) wix-ana-kʷ-c̓ ac si-ƛ̓ap-amk-tim ... wa-caay-ac
(125) be they-they-Quot-Perf these ones Der-go-Pat-Pass ... Prox-all-Prox
(125) This is how they get almost everything... these birds; that's how

...wa-ciccipī-ac si-ƛ̓ap-amk-im-kʷ-c̓ ac
...Prox-bird-Prox Der-go-Pat-Pass-Quot-Perf these ones
they got it.

(126) cay-uc-c-ma
(126) finish-mouth-I-Dub
(126) I think I've finished.

* * * * * *

The Spider and Two Other Stories

A long time ago there were these four human beings who got angry and left their village. They had no idea where they were going, but just wandered about until they reached the top of the world. Then they were troubled because they couldn't figure out how to get back down to earth. They wandered about on the top of the world until they spotted a human being. They thought it was a human being but it really was a supernatural being in the shape of a spider. They told the being about their problem and he told them he could help them return to earth.

"Get in this basket," he said. "I'll tie these ropes to the handle and lower you down to Earth from here."

When they were all settled into the basket, the spider said to them, "Don't show your faces if you get hung up on something. First you will get caught up on the clouds. Don't show your faces whatever you do. Just work the basket free by rocking it back and forth. If it's just clouds you'll work yourselves free. If you find that you can't get free no matter how hard you try, then uncover your faces for it will be the Earth that you've landed upon. When you get there you'll need something to catch food with. Take these nets."

Well, the ropes were really spider silk and the nets were really spider webs, but since the people still thought the supernatural being was a human they didn't know this.

The descent happened just as the spider said it would. They got hung up on some clouds, worked themselves free, and landed on the Earth. It wasn't long after their return that they learned how to use the spider web nets and to find enough food to survive.

* * * * * *

Now I'll tell about four young people who set out upriver for Anaheim Lake. As they passed the mountain called SlaXlakʷayɫ one of them began to poke around the base of it with his cane. When he pulled his cane out of the place called SlaXkʷayɫ's slopjar, it seemed to be growing thicker and thicker, but really it was just some snakes coiling around it. The snakes had been there since the beginning of time, but in the shape of the sticks of the bushes around the base of the mountain. Every stick there had the likeness of a snake's face on it. It was just as if they had come to life. The four wanderers tried to get away, but everywhere they turned snakes were in their path. They kept running this way and that as fast as they could until they were exhausted and then they just gave up-they were helpless. All except one fellow who had been carrying a knife on his belt. The snakes were coiled about his arms and legs and even about his body, but he managed to cut them off with his knife.

When he finally reached Anaheim Lake, he told everyone how the bushes had turned into snakes and killed his companions.

That's all the old people told us. They told us this story so we could tell our children not to poke around in the bushes or the same thing might happen to them.

* * * * * *

Now I'll tell the crane story. There was a crane wading in the middle of the river here. A man further upriver saw the crane and began to stalk him. The crane was busy fishing - spearing fish with his long bill and putting them into his fish trap. His bill is his fish trap; it's what he uses to catch his food. As the man approached the crane, it became aware of him. Now the crane wasn't just a crane, he was a supernatural being in the shape of a crane. As the man approached, he heard the supernatural being talking to him. It was then that the man became a shaman. It was the crane that gave him his shaman power.

The Midgets

ka-ał-kal-ūc-c-
(1) ˀay-ūc-timut-c s-ka-sm̄sma-c Unr-Res-meet-mouth-I-
(1) do-mouth-CRefl-I Der-Unr-tell story Redp-I
(1) I'll try to tell the story, if I can find the right words, about the

(2) nu-mūs-
tū ˀał-ta-sx-lx-likt-m-ck-tXʷ (2) human-four-
NContr Prep-NProx-bad-Inch-completely-MP-InfDub-Dist (2) There were
ones who got mad and ran away.

(3) ƛ̓ap-a-
a-kʷ t̓aXʷ ... ta-sx-lx-likt-m-tXʷ (3) go-they-
they-Quot those ones ... NProx-bad-Inch-completely-MP-Dist (3) They
four of them that got mad and ran away.

(4) ˀaXʷ-ałnap-it ka-umat-ał-
kʷ-c̓ s-ka-ix-q̓m-aw (4) Neg-know-they/it Unr-get to-foot-
Quot-Perf Der-Unr-Distb-step-they (4) They didn't know where they were
started walking.

s-ka-ˀay-naw ul-
aw (5) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓ s-ka-ˀay-naw Der-Unr-do-they Prep-
they (5) go-they-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-do-they
going. (5) They went on walking wherever they were going until they got

a-ka-umat-ał-aw ˀūl-a-s-q̓uX-lx-liwa-na-kʷ-c̓
Prox-Unr-get to-foot-they Prep-Prox-Der-tired-Inch-Sim-they-Quot-Perf
tired.

s-ka-qāXla-s
ˀał-tXʷ (6) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-nu-maw-tX Der-Unr-drink-he
Prep-then (6) go-he-Quot-Perf NProx-human-one-Dist
(6) One of them went to get a drink of water.

(7) kʷt-us-m-s-kʷ-c̓
ˀuł-ta-qla-tXʷ (7) -face-MP-he-Quot-Perf
Prep-NProx-water-Dist
(7) He got down on his hands and knees.

ta-xʷnał-
(8) sq̓ʷnay-āX-ik-ūc-is-kʷ-c̓ NProx-spring-
(8) kneel-behind-long horizontal axis-edge-he/it-Quot-Perf
(8) He knelt on the ground next to the spring.

tX	(9)	ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-tu-c̓	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	s-ka-cikʷ-aɬ-m-aw-
Dist	(9)	go-they-Quot-Conf-Perf	Prep-then	Der-Unr-start-foot-MP-they-
	(9)	Then they started walking again.		

tu-c̓	(10)	ʔaXʷ-kʷ-c̓	aɬnap-it	ka-umat-aɬ-aw
Conf-Perf	(10)	Neg-Quot-Perf	know-they/it	Unr-get to-foot-they
	(10)	They didn't know where they were going.		

(11)	ʔaXʷ-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k	ʔīXʷ-anm-aw	t̓aXʷ	ʔaɬ-tXʷ
(11)	Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf	far-LCD-they	those ones	Prep-then
(11)	They hadn't gotten far when they heard someone chanting.			

s-ʔaxʷsnix-it	ti-nunu-ɬxʷ-uc-m	(12)	tix-kʷ-ma-
Der-hear-they/it	Prox-agent Redp-holler-mouth-MP	(12)	be it- Quot-Dub-
		(12)	So they said it

ku-c̓	ti-apsuɬ	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	...	ti-snucʔalaact-mx-tum
Surp-Perf	Prox-village	Prep-there	...	Prox-midget-inhabitant-CPass
must have been a village there ... the one called Midgets.				

(13)	ʔumat-a-kʷ-c̓	s-Xilxus-aw	aɬ-tXʷ
(13)	get to-they-Quot-Perf	Der-go into the open-they	Prep-there
(13)	When they arrived they went out into the open.		

(14)	ʔaɬ-ʔay-kʷ-tu-ya	ti-Xʷism	ʔaɬ-tXʷ
(14)	Res-do-Quot-Conf-Incomp	Prox-play	Prep-there
(14)	It was surprising to see the ones (i.e., the village) playing there.		

(15)	ƛ̓ap-uc-a-kʷ-c̓	s-ka-nunu-ɬxʷ-uc-m-aw
(15)	go-mouth-they-Quot-Perf	Der-Unr-agent Redp-holler-mouth-MP-they
(15)	They began chanting.	

(16)	ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓	aɬ-tXʷ	s-ka-Xul-cut-aw	(17)	ʔip̓-
(16)	go-they-Quot-Perf	Prep-then	Der-Unr-approach-Refl-they	(17)	grab-
(16)	They walked closer.			(17)	They

tim-kʷ-c̓	t̓aXʷ	aɬ-tXʷ	s-ka-us-txʷ-tutim
Pass-Quot-Perf	those ones	Prep-then	Der-Unr-Dir-inside-CPass
were seized then to be carried inside.			

(18)	ʔus-txʷ-tutim	s-ka-ʔaɬps-tutim	(19)	ka-s-cay-ūɬ-
(18)	Dir-inside-CPass	Der-Unr-eat-CPass	(19)	acquire-Der- -direction-
(18)	They were carried inside to be fed.		(19)	They were asked what they

tim-kʷ-c̓	s-ka-stam-s	s-ka-knix-it	(20)	ʔaɬq
Pass-Quot-Perf	Der-Unr-what-it	Der-Unr-eat-they/it	(20)	elderberry
			(20)	Elderberries

would eat.

ʔn	na-ka-st̓ls	wa-pāX-amk-it-kʷ-c̓	ʔaɬ-tXʷ
and	Prox-Unr-high bush cranberries	Prox-name-Pat-they/it-Quot-Perf	Prep-then

and high bush cranberries is what they said they would eat.

(21)	ʔina-tim-kʷ-c̓	aɬ-tXʷ	(22)	ʔaɬps-a-kʷ-c̓
(21)	give food-Pass-Quot-Perf	Prep-then	(22)	eat-they-Quot-Perf
(21)	They were given food then.		(22)	They ate then.

aɬ-tXʷ	(23)	k̓x-im-kʷ-c̓	wa-sq̓ʷyan-s	ta-nu-maw-tX
Prep-then	(23)	see-Pass-Quot-Perf	Prox-knee-his	NProx-human-one-Dist
	(23)	The muddy knees of one of them were seen then.		

s-stqʷ-īXʷlayx-s	t̓aXʷ	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	(24)	ʔaɬ-nm-layx-ɬ-ma
Der-mud-knee-his	that one	Prep-then	(24)	Res-hibernate-IC-Mid-Dub
			(24)	"Perhaps this one has seen

t̓ayx	cut-a-kʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k	t̓aXʷ	...	tu-snucʔalaact-mx-
this one	say-they-Quot-Contr-Usit	those ones	...	NProx-midget-inhabitant-

it hibernating," they said... the midgets.

tXʷ	(25)	ʔay-uc-a-kʷ-k̓ʷ	aɬ-tXʷ	(26)	ʔaɬ-nm-layx-ɬ-
Dist	(25)	do-mouth-they-Quot-Usit	Prep-then	(26)	Res-hibernate-IC-Mid-
	(25)	They spoke then.		(26)	"Maybe they saw the

a-ma	x-ti-macq̓ʷ	cut-a-kʷ-k̓ʷ	aɬ-tXʷ	(27)	ʔūɬ-tu-
they-Dub	Prep-Prox-frog	say-they-Quot-Usit	Prep-then	(27)	Prep-NProx-
				(27)	After a

frog hibernating," they said then.

wayx-ī-kʷ-tXʷ	s-kɬ-an-mi-cut-aw	t̓aXʷ	(28)	ti-
time-Dim-Quot-Dist	Der-drop-ear-MP-Refl-they	those ones	(28)	Prox-
			(28)	"Which

while they (the guests) started to pay attention.

ka-ks   ti-ay-uc-m-it   ac   ʔał-łmił   (29) tix-
which-Ind   Prox-do-mouth-MP-they/him   these ones   Prep-us   (29) be he-
one of us is it they are talking about?   (29) Maybe

ma-tu   ti-stqʷ-iXʷīXʷlayx-t̓ayx   cut-a-kʷ-c̓   t̓aXʷ
Dub-Conf   Prox-mud-knee Redp-Prox   say-they-Quot-Perf   those ones
this one who got his knees muddy is the one," they said.

(30) tix-kʷ   t̓ayx   ti-kʷt-us-m   ʔał-ti-xʷnał
(30) be he-Quot   this one   Prox- -face-MP   Prep-Prox-spring
(30) The one who got down on his hands and knees at the spring is the one.

(31) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓   ʔał-tXʷ   s-cay-uc-s   s-qāXla-s
(31) go-they-Quot-Perf   Prep-then   Der-finish-mouth-he   Der-drink-he
(31) They had gone then when he finished drinking.

(32) us-txʷ-tutim-kʷ-c̓   s-ka-ałps-tutim   ʔał-tXʷ
(32) Dir-inside-CPass-Quot-Perf   Der-Unr-eat-CPass   Prep-then
(32) They were taken inside to be fed then.

(33) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k   tXʷ   s-ʔalac̓ī-naw-c̓   x-tXʷ
(33) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf   then   Der-tell-they-Perf   Prep-it
(33) That was when they were telling about those things.

(34) tix-a   t̓ayx   ti-ʔay-uc-m-ixʷ   s-ʔał-
(34) be him-question   this one   Prox-do-mouth-MP-you/him   Der-Res-
(34) "Is this one the one you say saw it hibernating?", they said.

nm-layx-ł   cut-a-kʷ-c̓   t̓aXʷ   (35) ʔaw.   kā-ks
hibernate-IC-Mid   say-they-Quot-Perf   those ones   (35) Yes.   where-Ind
(35) "Yes. Where was it

si-kʷt-us-m-s   (36) ʔīXʷ-ī-tu   ʔał-t̓aXʷ
Der- -face-MP-he   (36) be far-Dim-Conf   Prep-there
he got down on his hands and knees?"   (36) "It's farther that way," they

cut-a-kʷ-c̓   ał-tXʷ   (37) way   ƛ̓a-kī-X   (38) k̓ʷn-
say-they-Quot-Perf   Prep-then   (37) OK   hindrance-go-Impv   (38) direct-
said then.   (37) "OK, let's go.   (38) We'll

us-tił ac (39) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓ ac s-ka-
face-we/them these ones (39) go-they-Quot-Perf these ones Der-Unr-
show them. (39) The midgets went to pick out the sticks

k̓i-mi-cut-aw tu-snucalaact-mx-tXʷ (40) ʔał-ƛ̓uk̓-
select-MP-Refl-they NProx-midgets-inhabitant-Dist (40) Res-carry on
and sharpen the ends of them then. (40) They pack them

it-kʷ-c̓ ʔūl-a-amat-s-kʷ ti-xʷnał (41) ƛ̓ap-
shoulder-they/it-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-stay-it-Quot Prox-spring (41) go-
on their shoulders to where the spring was. (41) They

ak-m-it-kʷ-c̓ s-ka-tas-ik-ūc-it ta-xʷnał-tX
hand-MP-they/it-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-poke-long hori- NProx-spring-Distal
zontal axis-edge-they/it
began to poke along the edge of the spring.

(42) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-i-lu-k ayk̓-ak-aw ʔał-tXʷ s-ʔay-naw
(42) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv be long-hand-they Prep-then Der-do-they
(42) They hadn't been doing this long when they pry up the spot where

s-qʷinqʷit̓-it ta-amat-s-kʷ ta-macq̓ʷ-tX (43) tix-
Der-pry up Redp-they/it NProx-stay-it-Quot NProx-frog-Dist (43) be he-
the frog was. (43) It was

kʷ ti-macq̓ʷ ti-ʔałi ʔał-ti-xʷnał (44) wix-kʷ-
Quot Prox-frog Prox-be in a location Prep-Prox-spring (44) be it-Quot-
the frog that was in the spring. (44) That's why

c̓ c si-ʔaXʷ nu-k̓l-x-s wa-xʷnał-uks-ac (45) qʷit̓-
Perf it Der-Neg place-cold-Inch-it Prox-spring-Pl-Prox (45) dig up-
springs never dry up. (45) It was

ay-nix-im-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx ʔał-tXʷ (46) wnc̓-it-Quot-Perf
Aux-LC-Pass-Quot-Perf this one Prep-then (46) kill-they/it-Quot-Perf
dug up then. (46) They killed it.

(47) ƛ̓ap-ak-a-kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ s-ka-tx-alus-tut
(47) go-hand-they-Quot-Perf those ones Der-Unr-cut-piece-Cthey/it
(47) They began to cut it into pieces.

t̓aXʷ (48) wnc̓-it-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ (49) tx-alus-tut-
that one (48) kill-they/it-Quot-Perf Prep-then (49) cut-piece-Cthey/it-
(48) They had killed it then. (49) They cut it into

kʷ-c̓ s-ka-cxʷi-s uł-ta-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ (50) ʔał-kʷn-
Quot-Perf Der-Unr-enough-it Prep-NProx-person-Dist (50) Res-carry-
pieces so that there would be enough for the people. (50) The ones for

it-kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ wa-s-tx-uc-tim ʔuł-ta-suł-
they/it-Quot-Perf those ones Prox-Der-cut-mouth-Pass Prep-NProx-house-
whom the food was cut up carried it to their houses to cook it.

aw-tXʷ s-ka-kūkʷ-it (51) knix-it-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ
their-Dist Der-Unr-cook-they/it (51) eat-they/it-Quot-Perf Prep-then
(51) They ate it then.

(52) ʔina-tim-kʷ-alu-c̓ t̓aXʷ ał-tXʷ (53) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-
(52) give food-Pass-Quot-Att-Perf those ones Prep-then (53) Neg-Quot-
(52) They tried to give them (the humans) food then. (53) They didn't

c̓ anayk-aw s-ka-knix-it (54) Xim-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ
Perf want-they Der-Unr-eat-they/it (54) dawn-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then
want to eat it. (54) They awoke when the sun came

s-p̓a-lx-uks-aw-tu-c̓ (55) ʔałps-tutim-kʷ-tu-c̓ ał-tXʷ
Der-wake-Inch-Pl-they-Conf-Perf (55) eat-CPass-Quot-Conf-Perf Prep-then
up. (55) They were made to eat again.

(56) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ s-ʔałps-aw (57) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-tu
(56) do-they-Quot-Perf those ones Der-eat-they (57) Neg-Quot-Conf
(56) Then they ate. (57) They had been

ʔayk̓-m-ī-naw t̓aXʷ s-ʔałps-aw s-ʔaxʷsnix-it
long time-MP-Dim-they those ones Der-eat-they Der-hear-they/it
eating just a short while when they heard someone hollering outside.

ti-ʔaxʷs ʔał-ta-as-qa-tXʷ (58) wina t̓aaayx
Prox-holler Prep-NProx-Loc-outside-Dist (58) warrior this one
(58) "This one is a warrior,"

cut-s-kʷ-c̓n ta-axʷs-tX (59) ƛ̓ap-uks-a-kʷ-c̓ ʔn
say-he-Quot-Impf NProx-holler-Dist (59) go-Pl-they-Quot-Perf and
the hollering one was saying. (59) They all went inside with the

ta-ƛ̓msta-t̓aXʷ s-ka-us-txʷ-aw s-ka-ipu-cut-uks-aw
NProx-person-Mid Der-Unr-Dir-inside-they Der-Unr-hide-Refl-Pl-they
people to hide in their own houses.

ʔuł-tu-suł-uks-aw-tXʷ (60) nu-cupc-ī-t-it-kʷ-c̓
Prep-NProx-house-Pl-their-Dist (60) agent-caulk-Dim-Tr-they/it-Quot-Perf
(60) They caulked the knotholes because

tu-sq̓usa-tXʷ wix-kʷ s-pāXu-naw ʔał-tXʷ
NProx-knotholes-Dist be it-Quot Der-be afraid-they Prep-then
they were afraid then.

(61) ʔał-ʔay-naw-kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ s-ʔał-k̓ił-tut
(61) Res-do-they-Quot-Perf those ones Der-Res-be without-Cthey/it
(61) What they did was wait for the warrior to appear.

tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ ta-wina ka-puƛ̓-us-m-s (62) ʔaXʷ-kʷ
NProx-person-Dist NProx-warrior Unr-come-face-MP-he (62) Neg-Quot
(62) No one made

ti-ka-c̓s-m ʔał-tXʷ (63) ʔaxʷsnix-is-kʷ-c̓ ta-nu-
Prox-Unr-make noise-MP Prep-then (63) hear-he/it-Quot-Perf NProx-human-
made any noise then. (63) One of them heard someone making

maw-tX ta- nunu-łk̓m-ūłikałł-tX ʔał-ta-as-qa-tXʷ
one-Dist NProx-agent Redp-speak-throat-Dist Prep-NProx-Loc-outside-Dist
a noise in his throat outside.

(64) way k̓x-ic ti-ʔał-ʔay-uc-tx ʔal-a-as-qa-c
(64) OK see-I/it Prox-Res-do-mouth-Prox Prep-Prox-Loc-outside-Prox
(64) "Well, I see the one speaking outside," he said.

cut-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ (65) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ (66) ʔiii, cut-a-
say-he-Quot-Perf that one (65) go-he-Quot-Perf (66) Eee, say-they-
(65) "He's going." (66) "Eee," the people

kʷ-c̓	tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ	(67)	ʔaXʷ-tXʷ	ʔay-nu	(68)	ka-wnc̓-ct
Quot-Perf	NProx-person-Dist	(67)	Neg-Impv	do-you	(68)	Unr-kill-he/you
said.		(67)	"Don't do it.		(68)	He might kill

cucut-a-kʷ	tXʷ	(69)	ƛ̓ap-kʷ	tX	s-ka-qʷy-uc-is
say Redp-they-Quot	they	(69)	go-Quot	he	Der-Unr-open-edge-he/it
you," they said.		(69)	He went to open the door.		

(70)	s-ʔaylikt-s	ti-ciccipī	ʔał-ta-as-ūc-s	ta-suł-
(70)	Der-as long as-it	Prox-bird	Prep-NProx-Loc-edge-its	NProx-house-
(70)	A whole flock of birds were in front of the house.			

tX	(71)	ta-ay-uc-m-tim-tXʷ	s-wina-naw	wa-XʷnXʷnam-
Dist	(71)	NProx-do-mouth-MP-Pass-Dist	Der-invade-they	Prox-hummingbird-
	(71)	Hummingbirds were the ones to be invading.		

kʷ	(72)	nu-twin-uc-ī-na-kʷ-c̓	t̓aXʷ	ʔał-ta-
Quot	(72)	agent-show-mouth-Dim-they-Quot-Perf	those ones	Prep-NProx-
	(72)	They were making a soft noise at the side of the house.		

kułic̓-s	ta-suł-tXʷ	(73)	łm-uks-a-kʷ-c̓	t̓aXʷ
side-its	NProx-house-Dist	(73)	stand-Pl-they-Quot-Perf	those ones
		(73)	They stood up and began to run.	

s-ƛ̓ap-aw	s-ka-ƛ̓ikm-uks-aw	(74)	ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓	s-ka-kic̓-
Der-go-they	Der-Unr-run-Pl-they	(74)	go-they-Quot-Perf	Der-Unr-crooked-
		(74)	They began to twist the necks of	

liktn-īXʷ-tit	s-ka-c̓k-īXW-tit	ta-XaXaq̓-tXʷ
completely-head-they/them	Der-Unr-pull off-head-they/them	NProx-goose-Dist
the geese and pull their heads off.		

(75)	kic̓-liktn-āXapsm-tit-kʷ-c̓	ʔūl-a-s-ʔat̓mn-aw-
(75)	crooked-completely-neck-they/them-Quot-Perf	Prep-Prox-Der-die-they-
(75)	They twisted their necks until they were dead.	

kʷ	(76)	ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓	ta-ciccipī-tXʷ	way	s-ka-łXʷ-m-aw
Quot	(76)	go-they-Quot-Perf	NProx-bird-Dist	OK	Der-Unr-flee-MP-they
	(76)	The birds began to run away all right.			

(77) łXʷ-m-aXʷ s-ƛ̓msta-nalus-aw wa-ʔałi-ac (78) ƛ̓msta-
(77) flee-MP-Impv Der-person-become-they Prox-be-Prox (78) person-
(77) "Run away, the ones here have become humans. (78) They've

nalus-aw ac wa-cut-m-t-amk-tim-kʷ-c̓ (79) ƛ̓ap-a-
become-they these ones Prox-say-Tr-Tr-Pat-Pass-Quot-Perf (79) go-they-
become human," is what was said about them. (79) They

kʷ-c̓ s-ka-sq̓ʷ-aw ał-tXʷ (80) ƛ̓ap-ak-a-kʷ-c̓
Quot-Perf Der-Unr-fly-they Prep-then (80) go-hand-they-Quot-Perf
began to fly then. (80) The humans began to pluck

ta-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ s-ka-cłic̓-tit ta-XaXaq̓-tXʷ (81) ʔał-
NProx-person-Dist Der-Unr-pluck-they/them NProx-goose-Dist (81) Res-
the geese. (81) They

ikʷ-tit-kʷ-tu-c̓ (82) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka tXʷ
barbecue-they/them-Quot-Conf-Perf (82) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf then
began to barbecue them. (82) That was when they spoke all right.

s-ʔał-ʔạy-uc-a-kʷ-k̓ʷ t̓aXʷ way (83) ʔaaya, cucut-
Der-Res-do-mouth-they-Quot-Usit those ones OK (83) Aaya, say Redp-
(83) "Aaya," they said.

a-kʷ-k̓ʷ t̓aXʷ (84) ka-knix-tit a-t̓atut-c
they-Quot-Usit those ones (84) Unr-eat-they/them Prox-these things-Prox
(84) "They're going to eat these things."

(85) ʔay-uc-m-tmaxʷ-a-kʷ-i-c̓i-k t̓aXʷ s-ʔał-ikʷ-
(85) do-mouth-MP-Recip-they-Quot-Contr-Perf those ones Der-Res-barbecue-
(85) They were talking to each other while the humans cooked the birds.

tit ta-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ ta-ciccipī-tXʷ (86) ƛ̓ap-ak-s t̓aX
they/them NProx-person-Dist NProx-bird-Dist (86) go-hand-he that one
(86) He began to cook them,

s-ka-kūkʷ-s ʔał-tXʷ way (87) ʔaXʷ-kʷ ti-ka-nukʷƛ̓aq
Der-Unr-cook-he Prep-then OK (87) Neg-Quot Prox-Unr-pot
all right. (87) There were no pots then.

(88)	c̓atix-tit-kʷ	ˀal-a-kʷn-ak-stn-ī-ac	(89)	ˀay-
(88)	boil-they/them-Quot	Prep-Prox-carry-hand-Inst-Dim-Prox	(89)	do-
(88)	They boiled them in boxes.		(89)	They

na-kʷ-c̓	t̓aXʷ	s-us-qa-naw	ˀaɬ-tXʷ	s-ka-knix-
they-Quot-Perf	those ones	Der-Dir-outside-they	Prep-then	Der-Unr-eat-
went outside then to eat what was barbecued.				

tit	ta-ˀaɬ-ikʷ-ɬɬ-tXʷ	(90)	ˀay-na-kʷ-tu-c̓
they/them	NProx-Res-barbecue-DP-Dist	(90)	do-they-Quot-Conf-Perf
		(90)	They do that when they return

x-tXʷ	s-lip̓-cut-aw-tu-c̓	ɬX-aq̓ʷɬɬ	ˀal-a-anuXʷum-
Prep-then	Der-fold-Refl-they-Conf-Perf	from-downriver	Prep-Prox-river-
from downriver on the river there.			

ac	ˀaɬ-tXʷ	(91)	wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka	tXʷ	si-nunu-ɬXʷ-
Prox	Prep-there	(91)	be it-Quot-Contr-Perf	it	Der-agent Redp-speak
		(91)	That's why the goose is chanted to when it flies		

uc-m-im	ta-XaXaq̓-tX	s-ˀusilan-is-kʷ
unexpectedly-mouth-MP-Pass	NProx-goose-Dist	Der-pass over-he/it-Quot
over the village at QāXmac upriver.		

ta-apsuɬ-tX	ˀal-a-nu-qāXmac	ˀal-a-āXɬ-ac
NProx-village-Dist	Prep-Prox-place-qāXmac	Prep-Prox-upriver-Prox

(92)	nu-kɬ-ak-layx-a-kʷ-c̓	x-ti-snucˀalaact- t̓ayx
(92)	agent-drop-hand-IC-they-Quot-Perf	Prep-Prox-midget-Prox
(92)	They caused a midget to be dropped.	

(93)	nu-ɬXʷ-uc-m-tim-kʷ-c̓	wa-XaXaq̓-ac	sq̓ʷ-aw
(93)	agent-chant-mouth-MP-Pass-Quot-Perf	Prox-goose-Prox	fly-they
(93)	The geese are chanted to when they fly in the sky.		

ˀal-a-sunxʷ-ac	(94)	tix-ma	t̓ayx	ti-pacaɬ-ck
Prep-Prox-sky-Prox	(94)	be he-Dub	this one	Prox-first-InfDub
	(94)	Maybe this one was the first.		

(95) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓   x-c   ʔal-a-cay   (96) ʔusmix-
(95) Res-do-they-Quot-Perf   Prep-it   Prep-Prox-everything   (96) let go-
(95) They do like this all the time.   (96) They let

ak-timut-aw   (97) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka   tXʷ   si-nu-kł-ak-aw
hand-CRefl-they   (97) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf   it   Der-agent-drop-hand-they
go.   (97) That's why they dropped it because they were

ʔał-ta-anu-łxʷuxʷ-c-m-tXʷ   ał-tXʷ   (98) Xił-uc-
Prep-NProx-Cont-chant Redp-mouth-MP-Dist   Prep-there   (98) many-mouth-
(98) My old folks
chanting there.

m-it   sm̄sma-yamk-it   ʔuł-ʔnc   tu-łlk̓ʷlx-ta-
MP-they/it   tell story Redp-Pat-they/it   Prep-me   NProx-old person-Inst-
told the story to me many times.

łł-c-tXʷ   (99) Xił-uc-m-it   (100) way
DP-my-Dist   (99) many-mouth-MP-they/it   (100) OK
(99) They told it many times.   (100) OK.

* * * * * *

The Midgets

If I can find the words I'll tell the story about the four human beings who got angry and ran away. They left the village without knowing where they were going. They walked and walked until they got tired and then they rested. One of them found a spring and got down on his hands and knees to take a drink. It was muddy around the spring and he got his knees muddy. After a while the four wanderers continued their journey, still not knowing where they were or where they were headed. It wasn't long before they heard chanting. They guessed it was coming from the village of the Midgets. Upon reaching the village they came out into the open. They were surprised to see the villagers playing out in the open. The chanting continued and the wanderers approached the villagers. The villagers took them by the hand and led them inside. Inside they were asked what they wanted to eat. The wanderers asked for elderberries and high bush cranberries. The food was brought to them and they ate until they were full. It was while they were eating that a midget spotted the muddy knees of the wanderers.

"Perhaps this one has seen it hibernating," said the midget. "Maybe these people have seen the frog hibernating."

After a while the wanderers started to pay attention to what the midgets were saying. "Who are they talking about?" they asked one another. "Perhaps it is you with the muddy knees," said one of the wanderers to the man who had taken a drink by the spring. Turning to the midgets, he asked, "Is this the one you say saw the frog hibernating?"

"Yes", answered the midgets. "Where did he get down on his hands and knees?"

"It's farther up that way," the wanderers answered pointing in the direction from which they had come. "Let's go. We'll take you there."

The midgets first went to get some sticks which they then sharpened at one end into points. They carried these sticks to the spring. When they got to the spring they began to poke all around the spring with their sharpened sticks. It wasn't very long before they had pried up the spot where the frog was. The frog had been there in the spring. They say that a spring with a frog will never dry up. They dug up the frog and killed it. Then they cut it up so that everyone would get a piece. Everyone carried his piece home with him to cook and eat. They offered some to the humans, but they weren't hungry and went instead to bed.

They awoke with the sun and were served food. This time they ate. They had been eating just a short while when they heard someone outside hollering.

"It's a raid," the one outside was hollering.

Everyone hid in his own house. They even stuffed the knotholes in the sideplanks. They were afraid. They waited for the raiders to appear. They waited silently; no-one made the slightest noise. One of the wanderers heard someone outside making a noise in his throat. "I'm going to take a look at whoever is outside. He's leaving now."

"Eeek," shrieked the villagers. "Don't do that; he might kill you."

The wanderer went and opened the door. There in front of the house was a flock of geese[1]. They were trying to get their bills into the house siding. The humans stood up and ran outside. They were about twisting off the heads of the geese. The geese for their part were running about desperately trying to escape.

"Flee, the villagers here have become human beings, they are human beings," cried the geese and they took off and flew away.

The human beings plucked the geese and barbecued them. The midgets were very distrubed by this, crying out, "Oh no, they are going to eat them." They kept talking to one another about this while the humans cooked the birds.

It seems the midgets were food for the geese who used their chants to find them. That's why they chant to the geese at the village of Qa̱Xmac upriver whenever they fly overhead. They hope the geese will think it's a midget village and drop down so they can catch them and have a feast. The geese are always chanted to when they fly overhead. My folks told me this story many, many times.

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[1] By mistake the narrator used the word for "hummingbirds" in the original Bella Coola text instead of the expected "geese".

(1) way anayk-c s-ka-alac̓ī-c s-ʔaɬ-ʔay-s-ck ... ʔal-a-ayk̓ ...
(1) OK want-I Der-Unr-tell-I Der-Res-do-it-InfDub... Prep-Prox-long ago...
(1) Ok, I want to tell what it was like... long ago... when this mountain

s-sxʷm-s-ck ti-smt-t̓ayx (2) sxʷm-kʷ . ti-ti-ti- ...
Der-burn-it-InfDub Prox-mountain-Prox (2) burn-Quot Prox-Prox-Prox ...
burned. (2) Our mountain here burned at

ti-smt-iɬ-t̓ayx ʔal-a-ac ʔaɬ-tXʷ (3) ʔaX-kʷ-c̓
Prox-mountain-our-Prox Prep-Prox-here Prep-then (3) Neg-Quot-Perf
that time. (3) The people did not

ti-ka-s-lq̓-əw wa-ƛ̓msta aɬ-tXʷ (4) ʔinix-ī-k̓ʷ-i-c̓i-k
Prox-Unr-Der-mind- Prox-person Prep-then (4) more-Dim-Quot-Contr-Perf
their
know what to do then. (4) It was near daylight

s-ka-Xim-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ (5) nu-p̓a-lx-ik-s-kʷ-c̓
Der-Unr-dawn-it Prep-then (5) internal-wake-Inch-internal-he-Quot-Perf
then. (5) The man called Asɬasɬ awoke with a start.

t̓aX ... ti-asɬasɬ-tum (6) p̓a-lx-s aɬ-tXʷ
that one ... Prox-Asɬasɬ-CPass (6) wake-Inch-he Prep-then
(6) He awoke then.

(7) ʔaɬ-Xʷiq̓-m-s-kʷ-ck (8) ʔaɬ-Xʷiq̓-m-uc-ʔalaakt-a-kʷ-
(7) Res-squeak-MP-it-Quot-InfDub (8) Res-squeak-MP-edge-wing-they-Quot-
(7) Something was squeaking. (8) These that were flying from the

c̓ wa-sq̓ʷ-ʔac wixɬɬ-ti-smt-t̓ayx (9) ɬXʷ-m-a-kʷ-c̓n
Perf Prox-fly-Prox Prep-Prox-mountain-Prox (9) flee-MP-they-Quot-Impf
mountain did so squeaking their wings. (9) They were running from

ʔaɬ-tXʷ ʔaɬ-ti-smt-t̓ayx aɬ-tXʷ (10) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓
Prep-then Prep-Prox-mountain-Prox Prep-then (10) go-they-Quot-Perf
the mountain then. (10) They went right over

s-ka-usilan-it	awxʷa	(11) ʔus-qa-s-kʷ-c̓
Der-Unr-pass over-they/it	surrounding area	(11) Dir-outside-he-Quot-Perf
here.		(11) The man went outside to

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	s-ka-ʔał-lXʷ-s	ʔul-a-sunxʷ-ac	ʔał-tXʷ
NProx-person-Dist	Der-Unr-Res-look-he	Prep-Prox-sky-Prox	Prep-then
look up at the sky then.			

(12) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-tu-ya	ał-tXʷ	(13) wix-ana-kʷ	tXʷ
(12) Res-do-they-Quot-Conf-Incomp	Prep-then	(13) be they-they-Quot	they
(12) They were really like that then.		(13) They were the ones	

wa-hawhaw-tutim	(14) puƛ̓-a-kʷ-c̓	s-ka-usilan-it
Prox-Hawhaw-CPass	(14) come-they-Quot-Perf	Der-Unr-pass over-they/it
called Hawhaw.	(14) They came and passed	over the houses here going

wa-suł-uks	ʔal-a-ac	tpi-āX-am	al-a-ac
Prox-house-Pl	Prep-Prox-here	opposite-distributed-CD	Prep-Prox-here
over that way.			

ʔuł-t̓aXʷ	(15) ʔałʔał-cim-a-kʷ̓	tu-hawhaw-tXʷ	(16) hawhaw-
Prep-there	(15) Res Redp-speak-they-Quot	NProx-hawhaw-Dist	(16) hawhaw-
	(15) The Hawhaw were speaking.		(16) "Were we

anił-i ł-a-kū	cucut-a-kʷk̓ʷu	t̓aXʷ	(17) sq̓ʷ-
before-we-question-Surp	say Redp-they-Quot-Usit	those ones	(17) fly-
Hawhaw before?" they were saying.			(17) They

a-kʷ-c̓	ʔał-tXʷ	(18) ʔał-Xʷiq̓-m-uc-ʔalaakt-a-kʷ
they-Quot-Perf	Prep-then	(18) Res-squeak-MP-edge-wing-they-Quot
flew then.		(18) They were squeaking their wings.

t̓aXʷ	ał-ta-q̓ʷpwałł-aw-tXʷ	(19) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓	s-ka-
those ones	Prep-NProx-wing-their-Dist	(19) go-they-Quot-Perf	Der-Unr-
		(19) They went flying across	

sq̓ʷ-aw	ʔuł-tu-tXʷna-yāX-t̓aXʷ	(20) scałł	wa-umat-aw
fly-they	Prep-NProx-across-behind-Mid	(20) Scałł	Prox-get to-they
over there.		(20) Scałł is where they went	

ʔał-tXʷ (21) sq̓ʷ-aw ʔał-tXʷ (22) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓ x-tXʷ
Prep-then (21) fly-they Prep-then (22) do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then
then. (21) They were flying. (22) The man named Asłasł watched

s-nu-cxm-āX-aw tXʷ ul-a-s-ʔał-k̓x-tis
Der-Agent-disappear-behind-they they Prep-Prox-Der-Res-see-he/them
as they disappeared in that direction.

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ... ti-asłasł-tum (23) tix-kʷ tX ti-ʔał-
NProx-person-Dist... Prox-Asłasł-CPass (23) be he-Quot he Prox-Res-
(23) He is the one who saw them

k̓x-tan ʔac ʔal-a-wayx-ī (24) sxʷm-s-kʷ-c̓
see-he/them these ones Prep-Prox-be a time-Dim (24) burn-it-Quot-Perf
a little while ago. (24) This mountain was

ti-smt-t̓ayx ʔał-tXʷ (25) ʔaXʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k ʔałnap-ic
Prox-mountain-Prox Prep-then (25) Neg-Contr-Expv-Perf know-I/it
burning then. (25) I don't know what came after this.

ʔal-a-tXlq̓-ank-s-ck txuł-c (26) si-ʔał-
Prep-Prox-be on the other side- side-it-InfDub towards-it (26) Der-Res-
(26) That's

paX-tūm-c̓ ti-smt-t̓ayx x-a-s-nu-hawhaw-ta-łł
name-CPass-Perf Prox-mountain-Prox Prep-Prox-Der-place-hawhaw-Inst-PP
why this mountain is named "Where the Hawhaw used to be" (Nuhawhawtałł).

(27) nuhawhawtałł cut-aw-k̓ʷu uł-tX ał-tXʷ (28) way ʔał-ay-
(27) nuhawhawtałł say-they-Usit Prep-it Prep-then (28) OK Res-do-
(27) "Nuhawhawtałł" is what they called it then. (28) Well, that's

uc-aw-k̓ʷu x-ac way s-ʔalac̓i-naw t̓aXʷ ʔał-tXʷ
mouth-they-Usit Prep-these things OK Der-tell-they those ones Prep-then
the way they would talk when they told about it then.

(29) tm-alac̓i-ł-aw s-ʔał-ʔay-naw x-tXʷ s-łXʷ-m-aw
(29) just-tell-Mid-they Der-Res-do-they Prep-then Der-flee-MP-they
(29) They just told what the Hawhaw did when they ran away from it then.

wa-hawhaw	ʔaɬ-t̓ayx	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	(30)	way	cacī-ma
Prox-hawhaw	Prep-this one	Prep-then	(30)	OK	finish Redp-Dub
			(30)	Well, that's probably all	

x-t̓aXʷ
Prep-those things
of it.

* * * * * *

Hawhaw

I want to tell the story about when our mountain here burned.

It was daybreak when a man named Astasɬ was awoken by the sound of creaking. He ran outside to see the Hawhaw fleeing the burning mountain. Their wings creaked as they flew over head on their way to Scaɬɬ. Astasɬ watched them disappear in that direction. I don't know what happened then except that this mountain is named "where the Hawhaw used to be" (Nuhawhawtaɬɬ).

Famine and a Story about the Raven

(1) way (2) tm-ˀay-ŭc-timut-c s-ka-alac̓ī-c s-ˀał-ˀay-
(1) OK (2) only-do-mouth-CRefl-I Der-Unr-tell a story-I Der-Res-do-
(1) OK. (2) I'll just try to tell how the world was a long time ago

s-ck wa-sunxʷ-ac ˀal-a-ayk̓ ˀal-a-s-Xłał-
it-InfDub Prox-world-Prox Prep-Prox-long ago Prep-Prox-Der-hungry-
during the famine.

ck (3) cact-anm-ī-s-kʷ ti-kupił-tum ˀał-tXʷ
InfDub (3) young person-LCDev-Dim-he-Quot Prox-Kupił-CPass Prep-then
(3) The one called Kupił was a young fellow then when it happened

s-ˀay-s-ck a-sunxʷ-ac s-ˀaXʷ-puƛ̓-s ti-smłk ˀal-a-
Der-do-it-InfDub Prox-world-Prox Der-Neg-come-it Prox-fish Prep-Prox-
in the world that the fish did not come into the river.

ˀanuXʷum-ac (4) slaX-s-kʷ ti-ƛ̓msta ˀal-a-axʷa ał-
river-Prox (4) many-it-Quot Prox-person Prep-Prox-around here Prep-
(4) There were many people around here then long ago.

tXʷ ˀal-a-ˀayk̓ (5) k̓x-tis-kʷ-tŭ ta-sissi-c-tX
then Prep-Prox-long ago (5) see-he/them-Quot-NContr NProx-uncle-my-Dist
(5) And my uncle saw them.

(6) qiqtī-s-kʷ-lŭ ˀał-tXʷ ta-sissi-łł-c-tX
(6) child-he-Quot-Pers Prep-then NProx-uncle-DP-my-Dist
(6) My uncle was still a child then.

(7) ˀalac̓ī-s kupił ˀał-tXʷ s-ał-ˀay-s wa-c̓kta
(7) tell a story-he Kupił Prep-then Der-Res-happen-it Prox-happen
(7) Kupił told the story then how things happened during the time of what

ˀal-a-s-ˀay-uc-m-im-c̓ s-ˀanuk̓ʷpt-s-ck
Prep-Prox-Der-do-mouth-MP-Pass-Perf Der-distended stomach-it-InfDub
was called "Full stomach" (i.e., famine).

(8) s-ʔanuk̓ʷpt cut-a-kʷ ał-tXʷ (9) s-nu-
(8) Der-distended stomach say-they-Quot Prep-then (9) Der-time-
(8) "It's the time of full stomachs," they said then. (9) "It's time of

Xm-lx cut-a-kʷ-tū (10) ʔaXʷ-ʔay-uc-aw s-ka-Xłał-
brittle-Inch say-they-Quot-NContr (10) Neg-do-mouth-they Der-Unr-hungry-
drought," they said too. (10) They didn't say that they were

aw ʔał-tXʷ (11) sm-ʔaXʷ-kʷ twin-m-s
they Prep-then (11) from the beginning-Neg-Quot show up-MP-it
hungry then. (11) The bird didn't appear at this time of year then.

ci-ciccipī-c̓ayx ʔal-a-alx-ac ʔał-tXʷ (12) ci-
Prox-bird-Prox Prep-Prox-same time of year-Prox Prep-then (12) Prox-
(12) It's

ʔay-uc-m-im c̓ayx siq̓ʷiyūs-łī-s (13) cix cx ci-
do-mouth-MP-Pass this one chickadee-Dim-it (13) be she she Prox-
the one called chickadee. (13) She was the sign about

k̓yuk-ta-naw s-ʔał-ʔay-s a-sunxʷ-ac (14) sm-
recognize-Inst-their Der-Res-do-it Prox-earth-Prox (14) from beginning-
how the earth was. (14) For some reason

ʔaXʷ-kʷ-i-lu-k puƛ̓-s ʔłʔaył ʔał-tXʷ (15) ʔał-ʔay-kʷ-ma-
Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv come-she that one Prep-then (15) Res-do-Quot-Dub-
she never came then. (15) Events on earth

ku x-tXʷ wa-c̓kta-s wa-sunxʷ-ac ʔał-tXʷ (16) ƛ̓ap-s-
Surp Prep-then Prox-happen-its Prox-earth-Prox Prep-then (16) go-he-
did happen like that then. (16) The

kʷ-c̓ ti-ƛ̓msta ʔał-tXʷ (17) xsūc-kʷ a-caay-ac
Quot-Perf Prox-person Prep-then (17) all-Quot Prox-all of group-Prox
people went then. (17) These were all of them.

(18) Xim-uc ʔał-tX ʔal-a-asikāX-ac (19) puƛ̓-s
(18) arrive-mouth Prep-then Prep-Prox-forest-Prox (19) come-it
(18) It was blooming then in the forests. (19) The weather

a-sunxʷ-ac   s-ka-sps-s   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (20) ʔix-pq̓ʷ-m-s
Prox-sky-Prox Der-Unr-eastwind-it Prep-then (20) Distb-blizzard-MP-it
came when there is an eastwind then.   (20) There was a blizzard.

(21) c̓Xmayx s-nu-yul-āX-ayx-s   wa-sqaluc-ɬɬ   wa-
(21) true Der-agent-turn-distributed-LCRes-it Prox-berry-DP Prox-
(21) The berries that were blooming at the time were truly wiped out.

Xim-uc   ʔal-a-aɬ-tXʷ   (22) ʔaɬ-ʔay-naw-c̓   x-tXʷ
arrive-mouth Prep-Prox-Prep-then (22) Res-do-they-Perf Prep-then
(22) The people were like this.

tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ   (23) na-nimut-aw   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (24) ʔay-s
NProx-person-Dist (23) mourn-LCRefl-they Prep-then (24) do-it
(23) They mourned then.   (24) The world was

a-sunxʷ-ac   (25) ʔay-s-tu   x-tXʷ   s-ʔaXʷ   ʔamɬ-am-s
Prox-world-Prox (25) do-it-Conf Prep-then Der-Neg summer-CD-it
like this.   (25) It really happened that there was no summer.

(26) ʔamɬ-am-s-ʔalu-c̓   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (27) puƛ̓-aw-kʷ-
(26) summer-CD-it-Att-Perf Prep-then   (27) come-they-Quot-
(26) Summer didn't come when it was supposed to. (27) Then the people

c̓   wa-ƛ̓msta-yuks   (28) tm-ʔaɬaɬ-ʔay-ɬ-c̓   ʔaɬ-tXʷ
Perf Prox-person-Pl (28) only-Res Redp-do-foot-Perf Prep-then
came here.   (28) They were just wandering about then.

(29) ʔix-lip̓-cut-aw   ʔal-a-ʔanuXʷum-ac   ūl-Xɬ
(29) Distb-return-Refl-they Prep-Prox-river-Prox Prep-upriver
(29) They went back and forth on the river, upriver.

(30) ʔaXʷ ti-ka-yaɬ-ay-ak-mi-cut-aw   ti-ka-knix-it
(30) Neg Prox-Unr-Res-do-hand-MP-Refl-they Prox-Unr-eat-they/it
(30) They couldn't find anything to eat.

(31) scux-m-kʷ-k̓ʷ   ti-smɬk   ʔal-a-anuXʷum-ac   (32) ƛ̓ap-a-
(31) jump-MP-Quot-Usit Prox-fish Prep-Prox-river-Prox (32) go-they-
(31) A fish would jump in the river.   (32) They would

kʷ-alu-k̓ʷ   s-ka-k̓x-it   (33) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-tu-c̓   k̓x-it
Quot-Att-Usit Der-Unr-see-they/it (33) Neg-Quot-Conf-Perf see-they/it
go to try and see it. (33) They could not see it.

(34) cay-na-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k   tu-x-saxʷa-tXʷ   ...
(34) be all-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf NProx-have-dipnet-Dist ...
(34) Those with dipnets...with the dipnets were the only ones (who went

... x-a-saxʷa   (35) ƛ̓ap-aw   ʔŭl-a-uc̓aluɬ-s   wa-smt-
... Prep-Prox-dipnet (35) go-they Prep-Prox-on top-its Prox-mountain-
to the river).   (35) They (the rest) went on top of the mountains

ac   (36) ƛ̓ap-aw   s-ka-saxʷa-m-aw   aɬ-tXʷ
Prox   (36) go-they Der-Unr-dipnet-MP-they Prep-then
(into the interior). (36) They went dragseining then.

(37) tam-sacqʷla-na-kʷ-c̓   (38) cay-na-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k
(37) make-raft-they-Quot-Perf (38) be all-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
(37) They made a raft then.   (38) They were only ones of the people,

s-ninic-aw   ʔal-a-ƛ̓msta   -ʔaɬ-tXʷ   wa-puƛ̓-ay-layx-ac
Der-alive Redp-they Prep-Prox-person Prep-then Prox-come-Aux-IC-Prox
those who were able to come with dipnets, who were left alive.

(39) ʔay-naw x-tXʷ   s-ʔaɬ-ikʷ-tit   s-knix-
(39) do-they Prep-then Der-Res-roast on open fire-they them Der-eat-
(39) They roasted/barbecued them and ate them.

tit   (40) ʔay-s x-tXʷ   ti-ƛ̓msta   s-wauslx-s   s-Xɬaɬ-
they/them (40) do-he Prep-then Prox-person Der-anxious-he Der-hungry-
(40) The people were anxious and hungry.

s   (41) nu-tuin-uc-ik-ŭs-kʷ-tu
he (41) agent-show-mouth-inside a container-flat surface-Quot-Conf
(41) The one (female) who was carrying off their food was heard (but

ʔiɬʔayɬ   ci-umat-ayx-s   tu-knix-im-tXʷ   (42) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s-kʷ
that one Prox-get to-LCRes-she NProx-eat-Pass-Dist (42) Res-do-it-Quot
not seen).   (42) She seemed to

x-ci-k̓iXʷm-cx ʔaɬ-tu-ʔamat-aw tu-knum-tXʷ
Prep-Prox-gnaw-Prox Prep-NProx-stay-they NProx-dried fish-Dist
be gnawing where the dried fish was.

(43) wa-plkīwa ... plkīwa cut-aw ʔul-a-ʔamat-aw wa-knix-it
(43) Prox-box ... box say-they Prep-Prox-stay-they Prox-eat-they/it
(43) "They're boxes, boxes," they call the things where what they store away

s-alq̓aw-tutit (44) ʔap-a-kʷ-i-lu-k t̓aXʷ
Der-store away-Cthey/them (44) go-they-Quot-Contr-Expv those ones
to keep stays. (44) They went to drag them (the boxes) next

s-ka-nu-ks-āk-it t̓aXʷ ʔul-a-kuɬ-ank-aw
Der-Unr-agent-pull-hand-they/it those ones Prep-Prox-surface-side-their
to them at the hearth, at their fire.

ʔal-a-kuɬ-āX-uc ʔal-a-nīXʷ-aw (45) ʔaɬ-xsūc-kʷ
Prep-Prox-surface-behind-edge Prep-Prox-fire-their (45) Res-all-Quot
(45) All the villages

ti-kuɬ-ulmx-t̓awt s-ʔaɬ-ay-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ x-ac
Prox-surface-earth-here Der-Res-do-it Prep-then Prep-these things
were like that then.

(46) c̓Xmayx s-xsūc ʔūl-āXɬ uɬ-stuix (47) ʔaɬ-ay-s
(46) true Der-all Prep-upriver Prep-stuix (47) Res-do-it
(46) It really happened all up the river to Stuie. (47) It was like

ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-k̓x-it wa-s-ʔanuk̓ʷpt-tum (48) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-
Prep-then Der-see-they/it Prox-Der-full stomach-CPass (48) Neg-Quot-
that then when they saw the time of the famine. (48) There

i-lu-k ti-ka-k̓x-it-kʷ-k̓ʷ t̓aXʷ ʔaɬ-tu-plkiwa-tXʷ
Contr-Expv Prox-Unr-see-they/it-Quot-Usit those ones Prep-NProx-box-Dist
wouldn't be anything in the boxes to see that was gnawing at their dried

ʔal-a-k̓iXʷ-m ʔaɬ-tu-knum-aw-tXʷ (49) ʔlq̓-ay-layx-
Prep-Prox-gnaw-MP Prep-NProx-dried fish-their-Dist (49) think-Aux-IC-
fish. (49) Those that had

a-kʷ-c̓ tu-xɬ-puc̓q̓-ɬɬ-tXʷ (50) tu-xɬ-puc̓q̓-
they-Quot-Perf NProx-have-hellebore-DP-Dist (50) NProx-have-hellebore-
some hellebore got an idea. (50) Those that had some

ɬɬ-yXʷ s-ka-ʔaɬ-kʷm-tut (51) ƛ̓ap-tut s-ka-tay-t-
DP-Dist Der-Unr-Res-warm-Cthey/it (51) go-Cthey/it Der-Unr-pound-Tr-
hellebore warmed it up. (51) They began to pound it.

it (52) ƛ̓ap-tut s-ka-q̓ʷp-m-tut ʔaɬ-tu-
they/it (52) go-Cthey/it Der-Unr-form cloud-MP-Cthey/it Prep-NProx-
(52) They began to scatter it on the inside of the boxes.

ʔas-ăX-s tu-plkīwa-tXʷ (53) ʔuc̓aluɬ-am-tut-tŭ wa-ʔaxʷɬ-
Loc-bottom-its NProx-box-Dist (53) on top-CD-Cthey/it-NContr Prox-nest-
(53) And they sprinkled the nest on the

tXʷ (54) q̓ʷp-m-tut (55) cay-na-kʷ-i-lu-
Dist (54) form cloud-MP-Cthey-it (55) be all-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-
tops too. (54) They scattered it. (55) They were the only ones

c̓i-k ac s-ʔaXʷ ƛ̓i-yaɬ-s tu-knix-it-tXʷ
Perf these ones Der-Neg fast-container-it NProx-eat-they/it-Dist
whose food did not disappear fast, they having prepared then these things.

s-ka-q̓ʷala-s s-ay-tut x-tXʷ wa-wix-ac
Der-Unr-be no more-it Der-do-Cthey/it Prep-then Prox-be it-Prox

(56) pupucq̓-ɬɬ-tum ac (57) ʔīXʷ-suɬic̓-ī-t-im-
(56) hellebore Redp-DP-CPass these ones (57) fire-start-dim-Tr-Pass-
(56) It was called hellebore. (57) And then the trees had

kʷ-tŭ wa-stn-ac (58) ʔanayk-aw-c̓ s-ka-ks-tut
Quot-NContr Prox-tree-Prox (58) want-they-Perf Der-Unr-fix-Cthey/it
fires built around them. (58) They wanted to get some hemlock bark.

ka-st̓ala (59) lul-x-ī-tut ʔaɬ-tXʷ
Unr-hemlock bark (59) easy to take off-Inch-Dim-Cthey/it Prep-then
(59) They made it easy then when they began to strip

s-ka-ƛ̓ap-ak-m-it   s-ka-lulluw-it
Der-Unr-go-hand-MP-they/it   Der-Unr-take bark off Redp-they/it
the bark off.

(60) nu-sX-als-ī-t-it-ċ   wa-ˀay-uc-m-im-
(60) agent-scrape smooth-side-Dim-Tr-they/it-Perf   Prox-do-mouth-MP-Pass-
(60) They scraped it smooth ... that which is called hemlock bark.

ac   st̓ala-s   (61) knknix-ī-t-it-c̓   ˀał-tXʷ
Prox   hemlock bark-it   (61) eat Redp-Dim-Tr-they/it-Perf   Prep-then
(61) The people ate it then.

wa-ƛ̓msta   (62) cay-na-kʷ-tū   wa-slaX   wa-k̓ipt-
Prox-person   (62) be all-they-Quot-NContr   Prox-be many   Prox-dried elder-
(62) The many who had dried elderberries stored were all

ł-aw   s-ˀaXʷ   ˀal-a-cixʷ-aw   ˀał-tXʷ   (63) cay-s
berries-Poss-they   Der-Neg   Prep-Prox-what-they   Prep-then   (63) be all-it
that did not die then.   (63) Dried

tu-k̓ipt-ł-tXʷ   s-knix-it   (64) ˀał-t̓q-ł-s
NProx-dried elderberries-Poss-Dist   Der-eat-they/it   (64) Res-paste-Poss-it
elderberries were all that they ate.   (64) These were dried

ˀac   (65) k̓ipt-s   (66) ˀik̓-aXʷ-kʷ   knix-im
these ones   (65) elderberry-it   (66) Contr-Neg-Quot   eat-Pass
on racks.   (65) They were elderberries.   (66) They were not eaten by

t̓aXʷ   x-ta-ˀumat-ayx   s-ka-knix-it   tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ
those ones   Prep-NProx-get to-LCRes   Der-Unr-eat-they/it   NProx-person-Dist
the one who was carrying off what the people eat... the dried elderberries.

... tu-k̓ipt-łł-tXʷ   (67) ˀał-ˀay-naw-c̓   x-tXʷ
... NProx-elderberry-DP-Dist   (67) Res-do-they-Perf   Prep-then
(67) It was their doing these things

s-ninic-m-it   (68) ˀał-ˀay-uc-aw-it-kʷ-k̓ʷ
Der-alive Redp-MP-they/it   (68) Res-do-mouth-Pl-they/it-Quot-Usit
that they kept alive.   (68) The old people used to tell about this.

x-ac   tu-ɬlk̓ʷlx-tXʷ   (69) ʔaɬaɬ-cim-aw
Prep-these things   NProx-old person Redp-Dist   (69) Res Redp-talk-they
                                                   (69) They told me that it's

ʔuɬ-nc   s-ya-s-c̓   s-ka-ks-tuc   ka-cay   ka-knix-ic
Prep-me Der-good-it-Perf Der-Unr-fix-CI/it Unr-be all   Unr-eat-I/it
best to prepare everything that I'm going to eat during the summer and to

ʔal-a-ʔamɬ-ac   s-ka-q̓aw-ic   (70) cut-aw-k̓ʷ   ʔuɬ-nc
Prep-Prox-summer-Prox   Der-Unr-put away-I/it   (70) say-they-Usit   Prep-me
store it away.   (70) They told me then.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (71) wix-s   tXʷ   wa-Xiɬ-uc-m-it
Prep-then   (71) be then-it   then   Prox-many times-mouth-MP-they/it
            (71) Many times they told about what was called the famine.

wa-ʔay-uc-m-im-c   s-ʔanuk̓ʷpt-s   (72) slaX-s   ti-ƛ̓msta
Prox-do-mouth-MP-Pass-Prox   Der-full stomach-it   (72) many-it   Prox-person
                                                     (72) There were many

ʔal-a-axʷa   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (73) ʔanu-kp-m-i-s
Prep-Prox-surrounding area   Prep-then   (73) Cont-full-MP-Dim-it
people around here then.   (73) The valley was full of

ʔaxʷa   (74) ʔanayk-c   s-ka-ʔiƛ̓-uc-m-c   wa-s-ʔaɬ-
surrounding area   (74) want-I   Der-Unr-move-mouth-MP-I   Prox-Der-Res-
people.   (74) I want to go on to what it was like when the

ʔay-s-tu-ck   s-kamaɬ-k̓ʷaɬ-tn-im   wa-sunxʷ-ac
do-it-Conf-InfDub   Der-when-form-Inst-Pass   Prox-world-Prox
world was created.

(75) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s-kʷ   x-tXʷ   s-wix-s-kʷ-alu
(75) Res-do-it-Quot   Prep-then   Der-be in a location-it-Quot-Att
(75) There was supposed to be an ocean around here and upriver.

ʔaxʷa   ka-sulut   ʔŭl-Xɬ   (76) sulut   ʔal-a-
surrounding area   Unr-ocean   Prep-upriver   (76) be ocean   Prep-Prox-
                                               (76) It was an ocean according

k̓ʷnta-s	ti-man-ɬ-t̓ayx	(77)	ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓	ti-qʷaXʷ-tx
decide-his	Prox-father-our-Prox	(77)	go-he-Quot-Perf	Prox-raven-Prox
to our Father's plan.		(77)	The raven came and did not like	

s-aXʷ	ya-nix-is	s-ka-sulut-s	ʔaxʷa	ʔūl-Xɬ
Der-Neg	good-LC-he/it	Der-Unr-ocean-it	surrounding area	Prep-upriver
it to be an ocean from here upriver to Stuie.				

ʔuɬ-stuix	(78)	ʔay-s-c̓	x-tXʷ	ti-qʷaXʷ-tx	s-ka-Xlq̓-
Prep-stuix	(78)	do-he-Perf	Prep-then	Prox-raven-Prox	Der-Unr-reverse-
	(78)	The raven then changed it around... he changed our ocean			

īXʷ-is	...	s-ka-Xiq̓-īXʷ-is	wa-sulut-iɬ-ac
head-he/it	...	Der-Unr-reverse-head-he/it	Prox-ocean-our-Prox
around.			

(79)	kaw-is-kʷ-c̓	ʔūl-a-s-ʔil-us-ayx-s-ta
(79)	carry-he/it-Quot-Perf	Prep-Prox-Der-pass-front-LCRes-it-Inst
(79)	He changed it to where people could pass.	

(80)	ʔaXʷ-kʷ-alu	ka-ʔilʔil-ūs-ayx-s	wa-s-yup̓alXʷ-
(80)	Neg-Quot-Att	Unr-pass Redp-front-LCRes-it	Prox-Der-point of land-
(80)	None of the points could have been gotten past around here if it had		

ac	ʔal-a-ȧxʷa	... ka-wix-s	ʔaxʷa	...
Prox	Prep-Prox-surrounding area	... Unr-be it-it	surrounding area	...
been ocean here then.				

ka-sulut	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	(81)	nax-liwa-nix-is-kʷ-c̓	(82)	nax-liwa-
Unr-ocean	Prep-then	(81)	ready-Sim-LC-he/it-Quot-Perf	(82)	ready-Sim-
		(81)	He got it ready.	(82)	It was

su-c̓	(83)	wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k	ac	si-smiks-s	wa-
Expb-Perf	(83)	be it-Quot-Contr-Perf	this	Der-mussels-it	Prox-
ready again.	(83)	This is why there are mussels up there at Stuie.			

aɬi	yaɬ-ta-aɬ-tXʷ	ʔaɬ-stuix	(84)	wix-s-kʷ-alu
be in a location	Prep-NProx-Prep-there	Prep-stuix	(84)	be it-it-Quot-Att
			(84)	It's because

s-ka-sulut-s ac si-ʔałi-s wa-smiks ʔał-t̓aXʷ
Der-Unr-ocean-it here Der-be in a location-it Prox-mussels Prep-there
there was supposed to be an ocean here that the mussels are there at Stuie.

ʔał-stuix (85) nax-liwa-s-kʷ-c̓ s-Xlq̓-īXʷ-ay-nix-is
Prep-stuix (85) ready-Sim-it-Quot-Perf Der-reverse-head-Aux-LC-he/it
(85) It was ready after the raven turned it around.

ti-qʷaXʷ-tx (86) nu-Xʷum-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔāxʷa
Prox-raven-Prox (86) place-flow-it-Quot-Perf surrounding area
(86) The river flowed here then.

(87) ʔanuXʷum-a-c̓ ał-tXʷ (88) puƛ̓-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ
(87) river-it-Perf Prep-then (88) come-he-Quot-Perf that one
(87) It was a river then. (88) He came here upriver again poling

s-ka-nu-almk-m-is-c̓ āxʷa ʔūl-āXł-tu-
Der-Unr-agent-pole canoe-Tr-he/it-Perf surrounding area Prep-upriver-Conf-
his canoe.

c̓ (89) yanyank-layx-m-s-kʷ-c̓ (90) nu-ʔalmk-m-
Perf (89) good side Redp-IC-MP-he-Quot-Perf (90) agent-pole canoe-Tr-
(89) He was just playing with the pole. (90) He was poling his

is-kʷ ʔāxʷa ʔūl-Xł s-ʔał-ʔay-s x-tXʷ
he/it-Quot surrounding area Prep-upriver Der-Res-do-he Prep-then
canoe here upriver doing like that then.

(91) yankyank-layx-m-s (92) wix-ana-kʷ-c̓
(91) good side Redp-IC-MP-he (92) be they-they-Quot-Perf
(91) He was playing with the canoe pole. (92) Because there were going

s-ka-ƛ̓msta-nalus si-ʔał-ʔay-s ʔał-tXʷ s-nu-skim-is
Der-Unr-person-become Der-Res-do-it Prep-then Der-place-good sign-he/it
to be human beings is why he put good signs around here.

ʔal-a-āxʷa (93) nu-skim-is wa-nuXalk-ac
Prep-Prox-surrounding area (93) place- good sign-he/it Prox-nuXalk-Prox
(93) He put a good sign on NuXalk here.

(94) puƛ̓-s-kʷ-tu-c̓ t̓aXʷ s-ka-uq̓ʷ-s
(94) come-he-Quot-Conf-Perf that one Der-Unr-drift-he
(94) He came again drifting.

(95) yankyank-layx-m-s ʔał-tXʷ (96) ʔał-ix-m-nk-layx-timut-
(95) good side Redp-IC-MP-he Prep-then (96) Res-slip-MP-side-IC-CRefl-
(95) He was playing with the pole then. (96) He was pretending to let

s-kʷ-c̓ s-ʔuq̓ʷ-s-tu-c̓ (97) nu-Xʷup-
he-Quot-Perf Der-drift-he-Conf-Perf (97) agent-put in a hole-
the pole slide along the side drifting again. (97) He got down to the

āX-m-tus-kʷ-c̓ wa-ʔanuXʷum-ac (98) nu-Xʷup-
bottom-MP-Che/it-Quot-Perf Prox-river-Prox (98) agent-put in a hole-
mouth of the river. (98) He managed to get to

āX-m-nix-is-kʷ-c̓ wa-ʔanuXʷum-ac (99) wix-kʷ-i-
bottom-MP-LC-he/it-Quot-Perf Prox-river-Prox (99) be then-Quot-Contr-
the river. (99) That was when he

c̓i-ka tXʷ s-ikʷł-ank-is-c̓ t̓aXʷ ta-skulukt-s-tX
Perf then Der-throw-side-he/it-Perf that one NProx-pole-his-Dist
threw his canoe pole at the mountain.

ʔuł-ta-smt-tX (100) kuł-ank-īXʷ-s ti-smt-t̓ayx
Prep-NProx-mountain-Dist (100) surface-side-top-it Prox-mountain-Prox
(100) It's on the top side of this mountain.

(101) ʔał-pāX-s-lu-c̓ t̓ayx x-a-skulukt-łł
(101) Res-name-it-Expv-Perf this one Prep-Prox-pole-DP
(101) This is now named "Used to be a canoe pole" (Skuluktłł).

(102) tix-kʷ-c̓ ta-skulukt-s ta-qʷaXʷ-tX ti-kuł-
(102) be it-Quot-Perf NProx-pole-his NProx-raven-Dist Prox-surface-
(102) It's the raven's canoe pole that is its side.

ank-s ʔuł-tx (103) ka-skulukt-am-a-c̓ ka-ʔalūX-ał-s
side-its Prep-it (103) Unr-pole-CD-Dub-Perf Unr-come behind-foot-he
(103) "It will perhaps be a canoe pole when they come

t̓ayx cut-kʷ-i-c̓i-k ʔał-tXʷ (104) łm-ayx-s
this one say-Quot-Contr-Perf Prep-then (104) stand-LCRes-it
after," he said then. (104) "It's standing on the

ʔuł-ti-smt-t̓ayx cucut-a-kʷ t̓aXʷ s-sm̄sma-
Prep-Prox-mountain-Prox say Redp-they-Quot those ones Der-tell story Redp-
mountain," they would say when they would tell me these stories.

yūs-ɨ-cant
front-Dim-they/me

* * * * * *

Famine and a Story About the Raven

Okay, I'll tell the story about the famine. There was a young man named Kupił. He was very young when the fish did not come up the river. There were many people here then. My uncle was a child in those days and he saw them. Kupił was the one who originally told the story of the "Time of the swollen bellies". He called it the "Time of the swollen bellies" or the "Time of the drought". Instead of just saying that people were hungry he said that their bellies were swollen up.

The chickadee was the harbinger of the food-gathering season. She did not appear that year and no-one knew why. The forest was in bloom and the berries were in blossom. Suddenly the East wind came bringing a blizzard that wiped out all the berries. It was as if there was to be no summer and the people mourned. And, indeed, there was no summer that year. The people wandered about searching for food. They wandered back and forth on the river; they went upriver, but nowhere could they find food. The people split into two groups: those who had nets stayed by the river while the rest crossed the mountains into the interior. The river used to be full of fish; one could see their backs breaking the surface of the water. But, now they could see nothing of the fish, so they built rafts and went drag-seining. They caught some fish, barbecued some right away, but smoke-dried the rest and stored them away in boxes. But the dried fish kept disappearing from the boxes; something was gnawing at them. The people dragged the boxes inside next to the hearth so they could keep watch over them better, but the fish kept disappearing. Some people had some hellebore which they warmed up, pounded, and scattered inside and on top of their boxes. These people lost no more fish. When the people began to run out of dried fish they built fires around the hemlock trees. The fires made it easier to strip off the bark. They scraped the cambrium from the outer bark and ate it. Some people had stored away dried elderberries and they ate those. The elderberries were not carried off. It was by doing all these things that the people survived

The old people used to tell us this story. They would tell us it was best to prepare everything when it was available and store it away for bad times. They told us about the famine many times.

* * * * * *

Now I want to talk about the creation. In the beginning there was an ocean covering the entire valley. This was as Alquntam had planned it. But Raven didn't like it that way, so he changed it around so people could get around in the valley. You can still see mussels upriver at Stuie. The ocean that used to cover the valley left them there. This place was ready for human beings after Raven changed it around. The river flowed then and Raven came poling upriver in his canoe. He put good signs around here because he knew human beings would be coming. He put a good sign on NuXalk. After he was done, he came drifting downriver playing with his pole. He was pretending to let the pole slide along the side of the canoe. When he got to the mouth of the river he threw his canoe pole at the mountain. It's the upper part of that mountain that is now called "Used to be a canoe pole" (skukuktłł)

NuXalk

(1) way ˀay-ūc-timut-c-su-c̓ s-ka-alac̓ī-c ˀal-a-sma-
(1) well do-mouth-CRefl-I-Expb-Perf Der-Unr-tell-I Prep-Prox-story-
(1) Well, I'm going to try again and tell the origin story about the

yus-ta-ku-ks-ˀac ˀał-ci-kł-im-ck ˀal-a-as-īXʷ-s
front-Inst-Surp-Ind-Prox Prep-Prox-drop-Pass-InfDub Prep-Prox-Loc-head-it
woman named Ximlayxana that was dropped down at the head of the valley

ˀawxʷa ci-Ximlayxana-tum (2) Ximlayxana
surrounding area Prox-Ximlayxana-CPass (2) Ximlayxana
here. (2) It was Ximlayxana.

(3) kł-im-ck al-a-as-īXʷ-s awxʷa
(3) drop-Pass-InfDub Prep-Prox-Loc-head-its surrounding area
(3) She was dropped down at the head of the valley here.

(4) ˀasulixc-tum-kʷ-c̓ ˀiłˀaył x-a-nuXʷski-ac
(4) provisioned-CPass-Quot-Perf that one Prep-Prox-soapberry-Prox
(4) She was provisioned with soapberries.

(5) ˀasulixc-tum-kʷ ał-tXʷ s-kł-im ˀił-ƛ̓msta-ił
(5) provision-CPass-Quot Prep-then Der-drop-Pass NProx-person-Dist
(5) The woman was provisioned when she was dropped down so that she would

s-ka-si-ninic-m-is (6) puƛ̓-s-kʷ-c̓ (7) puƛ̓-s-kʷ-
Der-Unr-Der-alive Redp-MP-she/it (6) come-he-Quot-Perf (7) come-he-Quot-
have means of surviving. (6) Someone came. (7) The man came

c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ˀuł-cnł s-ka-u-nu-smatix-m-im
Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-her Der-Unr-Act-Agent-friend-Tr-Pass
to her to make friends.

(8) ˀunu-smatix-m-im-kʷ-c̓ ˀiłˀaył ˀał-tXʷ x-ta-
(8) in order to-friend-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf that one Prep-then Prep-NProx-
(8) She was approached by the man to make friends.

ƛ̓msta-tX (9) ʔaX-kʷ-alu-c̓ anayk-s ʔiɬ-ƛ̓msta-iɬ s-ka-
person-Dist (9) Neg-Quot-Att-Perf want-she NProx-person-Dist Der-Unr-
(9) The woman didn't want to give the man anything to eat

ʔaɬps-tus ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ʔaɬ-tXʷ (10) ƛ̓msta-nix-is-kʷ-
eat-Cshe/him NProx-person-Dist Prep-then (10) human-LC-she/him-Quot-
then. (10) She thought he was a

tu (11) ʔaɬ-tu-wayx-ɬ-kʷ-tXʷ s-ʔus-ɬXan-cut-s
Conf (11) Prep-NProx-be a time-Dim-Quot-Dist Der-Dir-resource-Refl-she
human. (11) In a little while she took from her stores what she had put

ʔiɬʔayɬ x-ta-aɬ-q̓aw-tus-tXʷ (12) ƛ̓ap-ak-s-kʷ-c̓
that one Prep-NProx-Res-put away-Cshe/it-Dist (12) go-hand-she-Quot-Perf
away. (12) She started... she

... ƛ̓ap-ak-tus-kʷ-c̓ s-ka-ɬq-m-tus ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
... go-hand-Cshe/him-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-wet-MP-Che/it NProx-person-Dist
made the man go soak the soapberries.

x-ta-nuXʷski-tXʷ (13) ƛ̓ap-ak-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓aX (14) ʔay-
Prep-NProx-soapberry-Dist (13) go-hand-he-Quot-Perf that one (14) do-
(13) He went to do it. (14) The

uc s-ka-cnɬ-s ti-ka-aɬ-yul-ak-m ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
mouth Der-Unr-be oneself-it Prox-Unr-Res-whip-hand-MP NProx-person-Dist
man said that it would be he himself who whipped them.

(15) tix-kʷ-ma-ku ti-qʷaXʷ-t̓ayx ... ta-unu-smatix-
(15) be he-Quot-Dub-Surp Prox-raven-Prox ... NProx-go in order to-friend-
(15) The raven was the one who came to make friends with her because of

m-t ʔaɬ-ta-nuXʷski-s-tXʷ (16) ʔik̓-aX-kʷ-alu ...
Tr-he/her Prep-NProx-soapberry-her-Dist (16) Contr-Neg-Quot-Att ...
the soapberries. (16) There wouldn't have been...

ʔik̓-aX-kʷ-alu ti-ka-nuXʷski ʔal-a-ik̓ɬ-ac tqʷnƛ̓
Contr-Neg-Quot-Att Prox-Unr-soapberry Prep-Prox-near-Prox this way
There wouldn't have been any soapberries down here then if the raven had

ʔaɬ-tXʷ ka-aXʷ ka-ay-s ti-qʷaXʷ-tx s-ka-ka-ka ...
Prep-then Unr-Neg Unr-do-he Prox-raven-Prox Der-Unr-Unr-Unr ...
done what he did, making friends with the woman because of what she had

ʔunu-smatix-m-is iɬ-ƛ̓msta-iɬ ʔaɬ-ta-ʔaɬ- q̓aw-
go in order to-friend-Tr-he/her NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-Res-put up-
put up.

tus-tXʷ (17) squsa-cut-s-kʷ-c̓n t̓aX ti-qʷaXʷ-t̓ayx
Cshe/it-Dist (17) take food-Refl-he-Quot-Impf that one Prox-raven-Prox
(17) The raven took some food for himself then.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (18) qūXqūX-lit-kʷ-i-c̓i-k t̓aX s-puƛ̓-s-c̓
Prep-then (18) caw Redp-say-Quot-Contr-Perf that one Der-come-he-Perf
(18) He was going "caw-caw" as he came here.

ʔal-a-ac (19) ʔaɬ-k̓m-a-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔaɬ-tu-nuXʷski-tXʷ
Prep-Prox-here (19) Res-bite-Intr-he-Quot-Perf Prep-NProx-soapberry-Dist
(19) He was holding the soapberries in his mouth.

(20) ʔaɬ-c̓x-m-āk-timut-kʷ-i-c̓i-k t̓aX way
(20) Res-drop-MP-hand-CRefl-Quot-Contr-Perf that one all right
(20) He scattered them along his way.

(21) puƛ̓-s-c̓ ʔal-a-ac tX-āXɬɬ (22) cix-kʷ
(21) come-he-Perf Prep-Prox-here from- upriver (22) be she-Quot
(21) He was coming here from upriver. (22) She was the one

c̓ayx ci-sq̓uXlikʷana-tum (23) sq̓uXlikʷana-tum-kʷ iɬ-ƛ̓msta-iɬ
this one Prox-sq̓uXlikʷana-CPass (23) sq̓uXlikʷana-CPass-Quot NProx-person
named Sq̓uXlikʷana. (23) The woman was called Sq̓uXlikʷana.

(24) pāX-cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX x-tXʷ s-ka-
(24) name-Refl-he-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-then Der-Unr-
(24) The man named himself that, Sq̓uXlikʷana, in order to invite people

sq̓uXlikʷana-s s-ka-q̓uX-likʷ-s ul-a-nuXʷski ūl-a-
sq̓uXlikʷana-he Der-Unr-invite-everyone-he Prep-Prox-soapberry Prep-Prox-
to the head of the valley here for soapberries then.

as-īXʷ-s axʷa ʔał-tXʷ (25) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k
Loc-head-its surrounding area Prep-then (25) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf
(25) This is why there are

ac wa-si-nuXʷski-s-c̓ wa-ʔik̓ł-ac ʔal-a-ik̓ł-ac
this Prox-Der-soapberry-it-Perf Prox-near-Prox Prep-Prox-near-Prox
soapberries around near us here.

ʔuł-łmił ʔal-a-ac (26) wix-s-kʷ-c̓n tXʷ wa-s-c̓x-
Prep-us Prep-Prox-here (26) be they-it-Quot-Impf then Prox-Der-drop-
(26) That was the stuff the raven dropped.

m-ak-łł-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-qʷaXʷ-tX (27) wix-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k
MP-hand-PP-he-Quot-Perf NProx-raven-Dist (27) be it-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
(27) That was what the woman

tXʷ wa-skʷacta-tutis ił-λ̓msta-ił tu-s-puλ̓-lt-s-tXʷ
it Prox-name-Cshe/them NProx-person-Dist NProx-Der-come-drill-her-Dist
named the children that she had.

(28) sq̓uXlikʷana... c̓xmakłł ix-cuct-kʷ-c̓ ił-λ̓msta-ił
(28) Sq̓uXlikʷana... c̓xmakłł Distb-say Redp-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist
(28) "Sq̓uXlikʷana" and "C̓xmakłł" is what the woman called her children.

ʔuł-ta-mamnc-s-tXʷ (29) xł-mna-lx-s (30) xʷp-lXs-ma
Prep-NProx-child-her-Dist (29) have-child-Inch-she (30) until-end-Dub
(29) She had children (30) That's the end.

* * * * * *

NuXalk

Well, I'll tell you now the story about the woman named Ximlayxana who was dropped down here at the head of the valley. She came down provisioned with soapberries so she would have a means of surviving. After she was here awhile she was approached by someone she took to be a human being. He wanted to make friends with her, but she didn't want to share her soapberries, her food, with anyone so she tried to keep to herself. After a while, however, she took some soapberries from her stores and gave them to the one she thought was a man to soak. He took them and told her he would whip them up as well. Now the one she thought was a man was really Raven. He came to make friends with Ximlayxana just because of the soapberries. We wouldn't have soapberries here in Bella Coola valley today if it wasn't for Raven. He made friends with her just to get ahold of some soapberries. Taking some soapberries for himself, Raven started to walk from the head of the valley towards the mouth of the river. He carried the soapberries in his mouth/beak while at the same time making his 'caw-caw' sound as he walked. This way he scattered the soapberries from the head of the valley to the mouth of the river. And from these soapberries he dropped come all the soapberries we now have in the valley.

Nusac̓m

(1) ʔanayk-c s-ka-sṁsma-c s-ʔał-ʔay-s-k̓ʷu-ck ...
(1) want-I Der-Unr-tell story Redp-I Der-Res-happen-it-Usit-InfDub...
(1) I want to tell the story about how it was; if I tell my aunt's story

ka-ya-yuc-c-tu ʔał-ti-sṁsma-s-k̓ʷ ła-sisksum-c-
Unr-good-mouth-I-NContr Prep-Prox-tell story Redp-her-Usit NProx-aunt-my-
correctly about the one who was dropped at the head of the valley at Nusac̓m.

ił ʔał-ti-kł-im-cki ʔał-nusac̓m ʔal-a-ʔas-iXʷ-s
NProx Prep-Prox-drop-Pass-InfDub Prep-nusac̓m Prep-Prox-Loc-head-its

(2) ʔay-uc-m-im s-ʔnXałi-s (3) ʔnXałi cut-aw-k̓ʷ ʔuł-
(2) ło-mouth-MP-Pass Der-ʔnXałi-it (3) ʔnXałi say-they-Usit Prep-
(2) It's called NXałi. (3) They used to call the green,

ti-s-qʷli-k̓ʷ ał-c (4) wa-mnta-tum-kʷ t̓aX
Prox-Der-green-Usit Prep-there (4) Prox-path-CPass-Quot that one
treeless spot there NXałi. (4) That was the path made for him when

s-kł-im (5) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ s-kł-im
Der-drop-Pass (5) do-he-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-drop-Pass
he was dropped down. (5) The man was dropped down there.

ta-ł̓msta-tX (6) ʔawasti-tum-kʷ t̓ayx (7) ʔawasti
NProx-person-Dist (6) ʔawasti-CPass-Quot this one (7) ʔawasti
(6) He was called Awasti. (7) He was Awasti.

(8) nu-mus-a-kʷ (9) ʔaXʷ-i-c̓i-k ʔałnap-ic a-skʷacta-
(8) human-four-they-Quot (9) Neg-Contr-Perf know-I/it Prox-name-
(8) There were four of them. (9) But I don't know their names.

naw (10) nuq̓ʷikmlayxana ti-nu-maw (11) ʔasulixc-tutim-kʷ-
their (10) nuq̓ʷikmlayxana Prox-human-one (11) provision-CPass-Quot-
(10) One of then was Nuq̓ʷikmlayxana. (11) They were given the

c̓ x-ci-spiq̓ʷ-c̓ayx ci-s-maw-tutim-kʷ-alu t̓aXʷ
Perf Prep-Prox-groundhog-Prox Prox-Der-one-CPass-Quot-Att those ones
groundhog as provisions which was the only thing they had when they were

s-kł-im ał-tXʷ ... ʔal-a-as-īXʷ-s nusac̓m ... ti-
Der-drop-Pass Prep-there ... Prep-Prox-Loc-head-its nusac̓m ... Prox-
dropped there ... at the head of Nusac̓m... called NXałi.

ʔnXałi-tum (12) ƛ̓ap-liwa-m-is-kʷ-alu-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
ʔnXałi-CPass (12) go-Sim-Tr-he/it-Quot-Att-Perf NProx-person-Dist
(12) The man tried to start on the one who was made his

ił-nu-maw-ił s-kuł-xnas-tum-ił s-ka-ʔunʔun-
NProx-human-one-Dist Der-endowed with-woman-CPass-she Der-Unr-try Redp-
cousin to try and make her into a true person so that she would become

ƛ̓mstn-am-tus-ʔalu s-ka-s-ƛ̓msta-nalus-am-s (13) łk̓m-s-
person-CD-Che/her-Att Der-Unr-Der-person-become-CD-she (13) speak-she-
human. (13) She, the

kʷ-c̓ ʔiłʔaył ci-spiq̓ʷ-c̓ayx (14) ca-lx-ak-m-cX
Quot-Perf that one Prox-groundhog-Prox (14) finish-Inch-hand-MP-Impv
groundhog, spoke. (14) "Leave me be.

(15) ca-lx-ak-m-cX (16) ka-ʔnc-ma-c̓ ci-ka-ʔumʔumat-
(15) finish-Inch-hand-MP-Impv (16) Unr-be me-Dub-Perf Prox-Unr-get to
(15) Leave me be. (16) It will be me that you'll come to

nu s-ka-kʷn-c-m-nu x-ka-knix-ixʷ ... ka-knix-cxʷ
Redp-you Der-Unr-get-mouth-MP-you have-Unr-eat-you/it ... Unr-eat-you/me
when you get food to eat... you'll eat me," the woman... the animal...

cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ił-ƛ̓msta-ył ... ʔił-nanmk̓-ił ... ci-
say-she-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist... NProx-animal-Dist ... Prox-
the groundhog said.

spiq̓ʷ-c̓ayx (17) ʔas-kuł-xnas-kʷ t̓ayx nuq̓ʷikmlayx
groundhog-Prox (17) Loc-endowed with-woman-Quot this one nuq̓ʷikmlayx
(17) He...Nuq̓ʷikmlayx... had a cousin.

(18) nuq̓ʷikmlayx-tum (19) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ
(18) nuq̓ʷikmlayx-CPass (19) do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then
(18) He was called Nuq̓ʷikmlayx. (19) They were ready then when they

s-nax-liwa-naw aɬ-tXʷ s-ʔaɬ-kɬ-aw-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ
Der-ready-Sim-they Prep-then Der-Res-drop-they-Perf Prep-there
were dropped there.

(20) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-ʔm̓sta-tX si-ninic-m-is-kʷ-
(20) do-he-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Der-alive Redp-MP-he her-Quot-
(20) The man did that; he used the one he didn't change into a person

lu-c̓ ʔiɬ-ʔaXʷ-ʔun-ʔm̓stn-am-nix-is-ʔiɬ (21) cix-kʷ-c̓
Expv-Perf NProx-Neg-try-person-CD-LC-she/her-Dist (21) be she-Quot-Perf
in order to stay alive. (21) She was what they

iɬ ci-knix-it (22) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓ x-tXʷ s-panya-
she Prox-eat-they/her (22) do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-smoke meat-
ate. (22) What they did then was to smoke them when

t-it-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ s-aɬ-kɬ-ayx-ɬ-aw aɬ-tXʷ
Tr-they/they-Perf Prep-then Der-Res-drop-LCRes-Mid-they Prep-then
they were brought down.

(23) ʔay-na-kʷ-tu-c̓ s-ʔixixās-nm-aw-c̓ ʔul-a-
(23) do-they-Quot-Conf-Perf Der-search Redp-LCDev-they-Perf Prep-Prox-
(23) Then they searched about for a place that was suitable for them.

s-ka-si-ya-liwa-naw ʔaɬ-tXʷ (24) ʔay-na-kʷ-tu-c̓
Der-Unr-Der-good-Sim-they Prep-then (24) do-they-Quot-Conf-Perf
(24) They were doing that when a/the

x-tXʷ s-nuq̓ʷ-ik-am-nix-is-kʷ-c̓ ʔiɬ-
Prep-then Der-divide-long horizontal axis-CD-LC-she it-Quot-Perf NProx-
woman divided the world.

ʔm̓sta-yɬ ti-sunxʷ-t̓ayx (25) ʔixanap-liwa-cut-nix-is-
person-Dist Prox-world-Prox (25) go about to find-Sim-Refl-LC-she/it
(25) She hea.d the activity of preparation.

kʷ-c̓ (26) nuq̓ʷikmlayx ʔaɬ-ta-skʷacta-s-tXʷ
Quot-Perf (26) nuq̓ʷikmlayx Prep-NProx-name-his-Dist
(26) "He who got it divided" (Nuq̓ʷikmlayx) was one of his names.

(27) cut-aw-k̓ʷ t̓aXʷ tu-tu-tu- ... tu-ɬlk̓ʷlx-
(27) say-they-Quot those ones NProx-NProx-NProx-...NProx-oldperson Redp-
(27) That's what the old people said when they told me stories.

ɬɬ-t̓aXʷ s-sm̄sma-yūs-cant (28) way (29) q̓ʷXʷ-uc-m-
DP-Mid Der-tell story Redp-front-they/me (28) OK (29) move-mouth-MP-
(28) OK. (29) I'll go on to

c-i-c̓i-k ʔul-a-s-maw wa-aɬnap-ic ʔaɬ-ti-wiyaqaʔay-tum-
I-Contr-Perf Prep-Prox-Der-one Prox-know-I/it Prep-Prox-wiyaqaʔay-CPass-
other things I know about the man named Wiyaqaʔay.

ck (30) wiyaqaʔay-tum-kʷ ti-ƛ̓msta (31) ɬuk̓-nimut-s-
InfDub (30) wiyaqaʔay-CPass-Quot Prox-person (31) not like-LCRefl-he-
(30) The man was called Wiyaqaʔay. (31) The man called

kʷ t̓aX s-ka-ʔaɬi-s ʔal-a-kawac-tum s-
Quot that one Der-Unr-be in a location-he Prep-Prox-kawac-CPass Der-
Wiyaqaʔay didn't like living at the place called Kawac.

ka-apsuɬ-s ta-wiyaqaʔay-tum-kʷ-t̓aX (32) puƛ̓-s-kʷ-c̓
Unr-live-he NProx-wiyaqaʔay-CPass-Quot-Mid (32) come-he-Quot-Perf
(32) He came here over a

tqʷnƛ̓ s-ka-Xlq̓-ik-m-s ʔul-a-as-
this way Der-Unr-turn about-long horizontal axis-MP-he Prep-Prox-Loc-
mountain to the head of the valley here.

īXʷ-s axʷa (33) ʔay-uc-a-kʷ-c̓ t̓axʷ
head-its surrounding area (33) do-mouth-they-Quot-Perf those ones
(33) They said that the man carried his

s-anu-ɬkʷ-m-īXʷ-is ta-ƛ̓msta-tX wa-suɬ-s
Der-Cont-pick up-MP-top-he/it NProx-person-Dist Prox-house-his
house by a/the handle.

(34)	Xlq̓-ik-m-s-kʷ	ʔūl-a-as-īXʷ-s
(34)	turn about-long horizontal axis-MP-he-Quot	Prep-Prox-Loc-head-its
(34)	He came over the mountain to the head of the valley here.	

ʔăxʷa	(35)	ʔał-łăX	(36)	ʔapsuł-am-s-kʷ-c̓
surrounding area	(35)	Res-cleared	(36)	live-CD-he-Quot-Perf
	(35)	It was cleared.	(36)	The man settled here.

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	al-a-ac	(37)	ƛ̓ap-ak-s-kʷ-c̓	t̓aX
NProx-person-Dist	Prep-Prox-here	(37)	go-hand-he-Quot-Perf	that one
		(37)	He began to make traps there at	

s-ka-tam-siłmăk-ī-s	ʔał-tXʷ	ʔal-a-as-īXʷ-s
Der-Unr-make-trap-Dim-he	Prep-there	Prep-Prox-Loc-head-its
the head of the valley.		

ăxʷa	(38)	ʔał-Xlq̓-ik-m-ayx-s-
surrounding area	(38)	Res-turn about-long horizontal axis-MP-LCRes-he-
	(38)	He finally got over the mountain.

kʷ-c̓	(39)	Xlq̓-ik-m-ayx-s-kʷ-c̓
Quot-Perf	(39)	turn about-long horizontal axis-MP-LCRes-he-Quot-Perf
	(39)	He finally made it over the mountains here.

tqʷnƛ̓	(40)	ƛ̓ap-ak-s-k̓ʷu	t̓aX	s-ka-słułūs-is	tu-
this way	(40)	go-hand-he-Usit	that one	Der-Unr-sharpen-he/it	NProx-
	(40)	He began to sharpen the things he has sought.			

s-k̓im-s-tXʷ	(41)	p̓īXla-s-kʷ-c̓	t̓aXʷ
Der-seek appropriate object-he-Dist	(41)	drift-it-Quot-Perf	those ones
	(41)	They (the chips) drifted.	

(42)	p̓īXla-timut-s-kʷ-c̓	t̓ayx	ʔał-tu-s-k̓c-ak-łł-s-
(42)	drift-CRefl-he-Quot-Perf	this one	Prep-NProx-Der-chop-hand-DP-his-
(42)	He drifted this way as one of his chips.		

tXʷ	(43)	p̓īXla-s-kʷ-c̓	ał-tXʷ	(44)	k̓x-im-kʷ-c̓
Dist	(43)	drift-he-Quot-Perf	Prep-then	(44)	see-Pass-Quot-Perf
	(43)	He drifted then.		(44)	The chips were seen

tu-s-k̓c-ak-łł-s-tXʷ al-a-axʷa
NProx-Der-chop-hand-DP-his-Dist Prep-Prox-surrounding area
around here.

(45) ˀunikʷ-kʷ al-a-anuXʷum-ˀac (46) k̓x-
(45) direction away from bank-Quot Prep-Prox-river-Prox (46) see-
(45) It was in the river out from the bank. (46) The

it-kʷ-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta ta-ˀał-kł-tXʷ ˀal-a-ac
they/it-Quot-Perf NProx-person NProx-Res-drop-Dist Prep-Prox-here
people who had been dropped down here saw them.

(47) ˀaXʷ-alu-ku nu-maw-ī-c s-ka-ał-kł-c cut-kʷ-i-
(47) Neg-Att-Surp human-one-Dim-I Der-Unr-Res-drop-I say-Quot-Contr-
(47) "So I'm not the only one who's been dropped down," he said.

c̓i-k t̓aX (48) ti-pacał-a-kʷ-c̓ ac ta-uniqʷakł-tX
Perf that one (48) Prox-first-they-Quot-Perf these NProx-uniqʷakł-Dist
(48) Uniqʷakł was the one who was first ahead of them.

(49) ˀaXʷ-alu-ku nu-maw-c s-ka-ał-kł-c-ku (50) ƛ̓a-
(49) Neg-Att-Surp human-one-I Der-Unr-Res-drop-I-Surp (50) hindrance-
(49) "So I'm not the only one who's been dropped down. (50) You better

ki-naw-it q̓łkʷ-cut-ap (51) ˀalmk-ił s-ka-ał-mƛ̓msta-
go-Pl-Exh dress-Refl-you (51) pole upriver-we Der-Unr-Res-person Redp-
go get dressed. (51) We'll pole upriver to see in person the

t-ił ti-tx-amat-łł-s-cki ˀac cut-s-kʷ-c̓
Tr-we/him Prox-from-stay-DP-he-InfDub these things say-he-Quot-Perf
one from whom these things are coming," the man said.

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (52) ˀawq̓aw-cut-a-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ
NProx-person-Dist (52) put up Redp-Refl-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then
(52) They packed up then.

(53) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓ s-ka-almk-aw ˀūl-Xł
(53) go-they-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-pole upriver-they Prep-upriver
(53) They began to pole upriver.

(54) ʔalmk-a-kʷ-c̓ ac ʔūl-Xł (55) māsk-
(54) pole upriver-they-Quot-Perf these ones Prep-upriver (55) how many-
(54) They poled upriver. (55) No-one

āX-ał-a-kʷ-kʷ-ma-c̓ t̓aXʷ ał-tXʷ ʔūl-a-as-
days-travel-they-Quot-Quot-Dub-Perf those ones Prep-then Prep-Prox-Loc-
knows how many days it took to reach the head of the valley at the place

īXʷ-s ʔaxʷa ʔul-a-slāXł-tum-ac (56) k̓x-tmaxʷ-
head-its surrounding area Prep-Prox-slāXł-CPass-Prox (56) see-Recip-
called SlāXł. (56) They saw each

a-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ (57) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ s-ʔałʔał-
they-Quot-Perf Prep-then (57) do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-Res Redp-
other then. (57) What they did was talk to each other then.

cim-tmaxʷ-aw (58) tix-kʷ-lu-c̓ tX ti-q̓ʷalm-aw
talk-Recip-they (58) be he-Quot-Expv-Perf he Prox-older brother-their
(58) The man called Wiyaqaay was the one who was their

ʔac ti-wiyaqaay-tum (59) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k s-ʔał-k̓c-
these ones Prox-wiyaqaay-CPass (59) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf Der-Res-chop-
older brother. (59) That's why the man called Ałk̓calus

alus si-ʔałk̓calus-tum (60) ʔus-p̓īXl-ayx-timut-s-kʷ-c̓
piece Der-ʔałk̓calus-CPass (60) Dir-drift-LCRes-CRefl-he-Quot-Perf
is "chopped into pieces". (60) Wiyaqaʔay made himself drift on the

wiyaqaʔay (61) t̓q-a-lx-īXʷ-ik-a-kʷ-c̓
wiyaqaʔay (61) stick-Intr-Inch-top-long horizontal axis-they-Quot-Perf
water. (61) Those who had fish traps got chips of wood stuck in them.

tu-x-siłmak-tXʷ ʔal-a-ac x-ta-ał-k̓c-alus-łł-tXʷ
NProx-have-fish trap-Dist Prep-Prox-here Prep-NProx-Res-chop-piece-DP-Dist

(62) ʔał-ʔay-uc-aw-k̓ʷu x-ac tu-łlk̓ʷlx-ł-
(62) Res-do-mouth-they-Usit Prep-those things NProx-old person Redp-our-
(62) That's how our old people spoke of these things when they told me

t̓aXʷ sm̄sma-yūs-ī-cant (63) ˀał-ˀay-s-kʷ wa-
Mid tell story Redp-front-Dim-they/me (63) Res-happen-it-Quot Prox-
these stories. (63) These events happened before

c̓kta-naw ˀal-a-pacał s-k̓ʷał-tn-im wa-sunxʷ-ac
happen-they Prep-Prox-first Der-create-Inst-Pass Prox-world-Prox
the world was created.

(64) ˀał-ˀay-na-kʷ-c̓ x-tXʷ s-ˀałi-naw ˀal-
(64) Res-do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-be in a location-they Prep-
(64) That's what they did when they were at the head of the valley here.

a-as-īXʷ-s ˀaxʷa (65) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k tXʷ
Prox-Loc-head-its surrounding area (65) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf then
(65) That was when Nunusk̓imayx built

s-tam-suł-timut-s nunusk̓imayx ˀał-ti-uc̓aluł-s ti-smsm̄t-
Der-make-house-CRefl-he nunusk̓imayx Prep-Prox-on top-its Prox-mountain
his house on top of the little mountain at Stuie.

ī-t̓ayx ˀał-stuix (66) tix-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx ti-ał-pāX-
Redp-Dim-Prox Prep-Stuix (66) be he-Quot-Perf this one Prox-Res-name-
(66) That's the one that got named NusmałīXʷayx.

tum x-a-s-nusmałīXʷayx (67) nusmałīXʷayx cut-aw-k̓ʷu
CPass Prep-Prox-Der-nusmałīXʷayx (67) nusmałīXʷayx say-they-Usit
(67) They used to call it NusmałīXʷayx.

uł-tx (68) ˀamat-a-kʷ-c̓ s-ˀapsuł-aw ał-tXʷ ti-
Prep-it (68) stay-they-Quot-Perf Der-live-they Prep-there Prox-
(68) The man called Nunuskmayx and his family lived there.

nunusk̓imayx-tum (69) ˀałi-s-kʷ-c̓ ˀał-ti-uc̓ik-īXʷ-
nunusk̓imayx-CPass (69) be in a location-he-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-top-top-
(69) He was on top of the little mountain looking in

s ti-smsm̄t-ī-t̓ayx s-ˀał-k̓x-anxank-m-s-kʷ-c̓
its Prox-mountain Redp-Dim-Prox Der-Res-see-side Redp-MP-he-Quot-Perf
all directions.

(70) wix-s-kʷ-lu-c̓ ac waskʷacta-timut-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
(70) be it-it-Quot-Expv-Perf this Prox-name-CRefl-he NProx-person-Dist
(70) This is what the man named himself for.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (71) tam-suɬ-ay-layx-s-kʷ-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ (72) ʔaɬ-k̓x-
Prep-then (71) make-house-Aux-IC-he-Quot-Perf Prep-there (72) Res-see-
(71) He managed to build his house there. (72) He

anxank-m-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔūl-a-s-ka-stams ka-c̓kta-tum
side Redp-MP-he-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-Der-Unr-what Unr-happen-CPass
watched in all directions to see whatever might be done to him.

(73) way ʔaɬ-ʔay-uc-aw-k̓ʷu t̓aXʷ x-ac
(73) OK Res-do-mouth-they-Usit those ones Prep-these things
(73) Well, that's how my parents used to talk of these things when they

s-sm̄sma-yus-cant ta-amat-alāXt-iɬɬ-c-t̓aXʷ
Der-tell story Redp-front-they/me NProx-stay-connection-DP-my-Mid
told me the stories.

(74) yạ-yūc-aw-tū aɬ-tXʷ (75) ʔaXʷ-ma-c̓-tū
(74) good-mouth-they-NContr Prep-then (75) Neg-Dub-Perf-NContr
(74) And they told them well. (75) Perhaps they never could

xsūc-nix-it-ck s-ka-ip̓-ay-nix-it-ck s-ʔaɬ-
be all-LC-they/it-InfDub Der-Unr-grasp-Aux-LC-they/it-InfDub Der-Res-
understand all they said about how things happened then at their

ʔay-s-ck ʔaɬ-tXʷ ʔal-a-ckʷ-āɬ-ta-naw
happen-it-InfDub Prep-then Prep-Prox-begin-travel-Inst-their
beginning.

(76) nax-liwa-na-kʷ-c̓ ul-a-axʷa
(76) ready-Sim-they-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-surrounding area
(76) They were settled in here.

* * * * * *

Nasac̓m

I'd like to tell my aunt's story about the one who came down at Nusac̓m, at the head of the valley. They used to call the green, treeless place there NXaɬi. It was the man called Awasti who dropped down there. There were four of them that came down at that time, but I don't remember all their names. One of them was named Nuq̓ʷikmlayxana. He had been given a groundhog as his provisions and that was all he had when he came down at the head of Nusac̓m, at Nxaɬi. Nuq̓ʷikmlayxana wanted to try and turn his groundhog companion into a real person, but she, the groundhog, spoke and said, "Leave me be, leave me be. It will be me that you will come to when you need food. Then you will eat me".

So Nuq̓ʷikmlayxana had a female companion, the groundhog. And it happened just like she said it would. Nuq̓ʷikmlayxana had to eat the groundhog to stay alive. That's what all of them did. They smoke-dried their provisions and went off to find a suitable place to live.

* * * * * *

Okay, I'll tell about the man named Wiyaqaʔay. Wiyaqaʔay didn't like living at the place called Kawac, so he crossed the mountains to the head of the valley here. They say he carried his house on his head. He settled in a clearing at the head of the valley and began to make fish traps. As he was shaping the sticks for the fishtrap he made a lot of chips which drifted downriver. The chips were spotted by one of the people who had been dropped down here.

"So we are not the only ones to have been dropped down," said Uniqʷakɬ, who had been the first to have been dropped down here. "You all better get dressed," he said to the others. "We'll pole upriver and see for ourselves who it is that is making those chips."

They got all packed up and poled upriver. No-one knows how many days it took to reach the head of the valley to the place called SlāXɬ. Finally they saw Wiyaqaʔay and had a talk with him. It turned out that Wiyaqaʔay was their older brother.

This is how our old people spoke of these things when they told stories. These things happened at the beginning of creation. That was the time when Nunuskimayx built his house on top of the little mountain at Stuie. He called his house N̓usmaɬīXʷayx and it overlooked everything in all directions so that Nunuskimayx might see whatever was happening. Well, that's how my parents would talk of these things when they told stories. They told them well. Perhaps no-one can understand all they said about how things happened at the beginning.

Suwak̓x

(1) way (2) tm-ˀay-ūc-timut-c s-ka-sm̄sma-c
(1) OK (2) just-do-mouth-CRefl-I Der-Unr-tell story Redp-I
(1) OK (2) I'll just try to tell a story.

(3) st̓aXʷ-liwa-c̓ ˀaɬ-ɬmiɬ ˀal-a-wayx-ī-c̓n-ac
(3) difficult-Sim-Perf Prep-us Prep-Prox-be a time-Dim-Impf-Prox
(3) It's kind of hard for us now these days.

(4) nu-na-nix-ik-m-iɬ-c̓ wa-axʷɬ ˀal-a-axʷɬ
(4) internal-forget-LC-internal-MP-we/it-Perf Prox-some Prep-Prox-some
(4) We forget now some parts of stories how it happened when the ones at

a-sm̄sma s-ˀaɬ-ˀay-s-ck ˀaɬ-tXʷ s-kɬ-tim
Prox-tell story Redp Der-Res-happen-it-InfDub Prep-then Der-drop-Pass
Suwak̓x... Suwak̓x were dropped (to earth).

wa-aɬi ˀaɬ-suwak̓x ... suwak̓x (5) kɬ-tim
Prox-be in a location Prep-suwak̓x ... suwak̓x (5) drop-Pass
(5) They were dropped down.

(6) ˀisiyuyut ... Ximswa ... wa-kɬ-tim ... ˀaɬ-tXʷ ... ˀaɬ-
(6) ˀisiyuyut ... Ximswa ... Prox-drop-Pass... Prep-those ... Prep-
(6) Isiyuyut ... Ximswa ... were the ones dropped down there at Suwak̓x.

swak̓x (7) ˀas-kuɬ-xnas-tutim ˀac x-qāqma (8) ˀas-
swak̓x (7) Loc-endowed with-woman-CPass these ones Prep-Qāqma (8) Loc-
(7) They had Qāqma as a cousin. (8) And

nusqlata-tum-kʷ-tū swak̓x ˀaɬ-tXʷ ... ti-nusqlata (9) cix-
waterpot-CPass-Quot-NContr swak̓x Prep-then ... Prox-waterpot (9) be she-
Swak̓x was given a waterpot. (9) There's

i-c̓i-k ci-nu-maw ˀal-a-ac ci-nusqlata-tum-c̓ ...
Contr-Perf Prox-human-one Prep-Prox-here Prox-waterpot-CPass-Perf ...
one woman here that's named Nusqlata...

ʔał-a-smatmx-ił-ac (10) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ s-
Prep-Prox-friend-our-Prox (10) do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-
among our friends here. (10) It happened then that they were given

ʔasulixc-tutim-kʷ-c̓n t̓aXʷ x-ci-yaki-c̓ayx
provision-CPass-Quot-Impf those ones Prep-Prox-mountain goat-Prox
the mountain goat for provisions.

(11) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ s-ʔanayk-aw s-ka-s-ƛ̓msta-
(11) Res-do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-want-they Der-Unr-Der-person-
(11) What they wanted was the mountain goat to turn into a human being.

nalus-am-s ta-yaki-tX (12) ʔaXʷ-c̓ tulu-amk-
become-CD-it NProx-mountain goat-Dist (12) Neg-Perf complete-Pat-
(12) They couldn't do it.

it (13) ʔay-uc-kʷ-c̓ ta-yaki-tX ʔūł-ta-
they/him (13) do-mouth-Quot-Perf NProx-mountain goat-Dist Prep-NProx-
(13) The mountain goat spoke to the people.

ƛ̓msta-tXʷ (14) ca-lx-ak-m-caXʷ (15) ka-ʔnc-ma-c̓ ti-
person-Dist (14) stop-Inch-hand-MP-Impv (15) Unr-be I-Dub-Perf Prox-
(14) "Give up on me. (15) It will be me that you

ka-si-ninic-ap cut-kʷ-i-c̓i-k t̓aX ʔūł-tXʷ
Unr-Der-alive Redp-you say-Quot-Contr-Perf that one Prep-them
use to live," he said to them.

(16) ka-si-ninic-m-it s-ka-knix-it-c̓ (17) ʔał-
(16) Unr-Der-alive Redp-MP-they/it Der-Unr-eat-they/it-Perf (17) Res-
(16) He would keep them alive through eating him. (17) That's

ʔay-na-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ ʔał-tXʷ s-knix-it
do-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-then Der-eat-they/it
what the people did then; eating this was how they kept alive.

si-ninic-m-it-kʷ-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ (18) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓
Der-alive Redp-MP-they/it-Quot-Perf Prep-then (18) go-they-Quot-Perf
(18) They went down into

ʔūXnk   ʔał-ti-kuł-ulmx-t̓ayx   s-ka-aspuł-am-timut-a-kʷ-
downwards   Prep-Prox-surface-earth-Prox   Der-Unr-settle-CD-CRefl-they-Quot-
the valley to settle there.

c̓   ʔał-tXʷ   (19)   wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka   tXʷ   way   s-k̓x-
Perf   Prep-there   (19)   be then-Quot-Contr-Perf   then   OK   Der-see-
(19)   That was when they saw, all right, how the water was.

it-c̓   t̓aXʷ   s-ʔał-ʔay-s   tu-qla-tXʷ   (20)   ʔaX-kʷ
they/it-Perf   those ones   Der-Res-do-it   NProx-water-Dist   (20)   Neg-Quot
(20)   There was

ti-ka-anuXum   ʔał-tXʷ   (21)   way   (22)   ʔaX-kʷ-c̓   ti-ka-yał-
Prox-Unr-river   Prep-there   (21)   OK   (22)   Neg-Quot-Perf   Prox-Unr-Res-
no river there.   (21)   OK   (22)   There wasn't anything that

ʔay-ak-mi-cut-aw   ʔał-tXʷ   (23)   ʔus-q̓im-s-kʷ-c̓   wa-
do-hand-MP-Refl-they   Prep-then   (23)   Dir-solid-it-Quot-Perf   Prox-
they could do for themselves then.   (23)   The water was covered over solid.

qla-ac   (24)   tqnk-us-ał-s-kʷ-c̓   ʔał-ta-smt-
water-Prox   (24)   underneath-front-foot-it-Quot-Perf   Prep-NProx-mountain-
(24)   It goes underneath the mountain to reach the water...

tX   s-Xilxus-s   ʔūł-ta-qla-tXʷ   ...   ʔuł-tu-sulut-s-t̓aXʷ
Dist   Der-appear-it   Prep-NProx-water-Dist   ...   Prep-NProx-inlet-it-Mid
the inlet.

(25)   wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka   c   s-qʷlXʷ-tim-c̓   wa-cay
(25)   be then-Quot-Contr-Perf   then   Der-ask for help-Pass-Perf   Prox-all
(25)   That was when all the animals we asked for help to make a river...

wa-nanmk̓-ī-ac   s-ka-anuXum-tut   ...   nuλ̓l   (26)   qʷlXʷ-
Prox-animal-Dim-Prox   Der-Unr-river-Cthey/it   ...   canyon   (26)   ask for help-
(26)   All were
a canyon.

tim   wa-caay-ac   s-ka-nu-xʷc-alus-tut   (27)   nuλ̓l
Pass   Prox-all-Prox   Der-Unr-agent-tear down-pieces-Cthey/it   (27)   canyon
(27)   It's a
asked to help tear it to pieces.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (28) q̓ʷuX-lx-a-kʷ-k̓ʷu   ta-anu-yaxʷ-
Prep-there   (28) be tired-Inch-they-Quot-Usit NProx-Cont-call to do-
canyon there. (28) Those who were called would be tired then.

tXʷ   aɬ-tXʷ   (29) q̓uX-lx-a-kʷ-k̓ʷu   t̓aXʷ
Dist Prep-then (29) be tired-Inch-they-Quot-Usit those ones
(29) They would be tired.

(30) tm-aaXc-m-ɬ-a-kʷ-i-lū-k   t̓aXʷ   ʔaɬ-ta-
(30) just-go to bed-MP-Mid-they-Quot-Contr-Pers those ones Prep-NProx-
(30) They would just go to bed on top of the place where it was covered

kuɬ-ik-s   ta-ʔus-q̓im-tX   (31) ʔaXc-m-a-
surface-top surface-its NProx-Dir-solid-Dist (31) go to bed-MP-they-
over.   (31) They went to bed

kʷ-c̓   s-q̓uX-lx-aw   (32) ʔaXʷ nu-Xʷum-nix-it
Quot-Perf Der-be tired-Inch-they (32) Neg agent-flow-LC-they/it
tired.   (32) They all could not make it flow.

(33) ti-sƛ̓aXt-kʷ   ti-nu-yaxʷ-im-kʷ-alu-c̓
(33) Prox-cariboo elk-Quot Prox-agent-call to do-Pass-Quot-Att-Perf
(33) The cariboo elk was the one they tried to call to do something then.

aɬ-tXʷ   (34) ʔaɬ-t̓c-aɬ-m-ik-is-kʷ-c̓
Prep-then (34) Res-sharp blow-foot-MP-top surface-he/it-Quot-Perf
(34) He stomped with his feet where it was solid on top.

t̓aXʷ   ta-us-q̓im-tX   (35) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka   tXʷ
that one NProx-Dir-solid-Dist (35) be then- Quot-Contr-Perf then
(35) That was when he was only able to

s-tm-k̓ʷaɬ-tn-ay-layx-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu   t̓aX   ʔaɬ-ta-uc̓ik-s
Der-only-form-Inst-Aux-IC-it-Quot-Usit that one Prep-NProx-top-its
make marks on the top of where it was solid.

ta-us-q̓im-tX   (36) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k   ac   si-sƛ̓aXƛ̓aX-
NProx-Dir-solid-Dist (36) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf this Der-cariboo elk
(36) This is why our Naqac̓in's name was "Cariboo

āɬ-tum-c̓ ʔiɬ-naqac̓i-ɬ-iɬ (37) wix-tū c si-
Redp-foot-CPass-Perf NProx-naqac̓i-our-Dist (37) be it-NContr it Der-
Hoofprints" (sƛ̓aXƛ̓aXāɬ). (37) And that's why I'm

aXc-ik-ayx-tuminic (38) q̓uX-lx-aw wa-
go to bed-top surface-LCRes-CPass (38) be tired-Inch-they Prox-
called "Goes to bed on top"(AXcikayx). (38) Those who were called to help

anu-yaxʷ aɬ-tXʷ (39) skʷactn-am-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔac
Cont-call to do something Prep-then (39) name-CD-it-Quot-Perf these ones
were tired then. (39) They became names because they

wix-s-kʷ s-ʔaXc-ik-ayx-aw (40) ʔaXc-
be it-it-Quot Der-go to bed-top surface-LCRes-they (40) go to bed-
lay down on top. (40) They lay down

ik-ayx-a-kʷ ʔaɬ-ta-us-q̓im-tX (41) ʔaX-kʷ
top surface-LCRes-they-Quot Prep-NProx-Dir-solid-Dist (41) Neg-Quot
where it was solid on top. (41) They could

ti-ka-ʔaɬ-ʔay-ak-m-it s-ka-nu-Xʷum-nix-it ʔaɬ-tXʷ
Prox-Unr-Res-do-hand-MP-they/it Der-Unr-agent-flow-LC-they/it Prep-there
not make the river run there.

(42) ti-sisyuɬ-tum ti-qʷlXʷ-lx-im-kʷ-c̓
(42) Prox-two headed snake-CPass Prox-ask for help- Inch-Pass-Quot-Perf
(42) The one called Sisyuɬ is the one who was gotten then to make the

aɬ-tXʷ s-ka-nu-Xʷum-tus ʔaɬ-nuƛ̓l (43) wix-kʷ-
Prep-then Der-Unr-agent-flow-Che/it Prep-canyon. (43) be then-Quot-
river flow at Nuƛ̓l. (43) It was then that

i-c̓i-ka c s-nu-sX-a-lx-tus-c̓ t̓aX
Contr-Perf it Der-agent-scrape smooth-Intr-Inch-Che/it-Perf that one
he caused a mountain slide.

(44) nu-sX-a-lx-tus-kʷ-c̓ ta-sisyuɬ-
(44) agent-scrape smooth-Intr-Inch-Che/it-Quot-Perf NProx-two headed snake-
(44) The Sisyuɬ caused a slide.

tX (45) wa s-pāXuła-s-ck t̓ayx s-nanmk̓-s...
Dist (45) be the one Der-fierce-he-InfDub this one Der-animal-he...
(45) He must be the fiercest of all animals.

ʔał-a-cay-ck (46) tix-kʷ tx ti-si-sXalXalx-s wa-
Prep-Prox-all-InfDub (46) be he-Quot it Prox-Der-slide Redp-it Prox-
(46) The one called Sisyuł is the reason the

smsmt-ac ti-sisyuł-tum (47) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓
mountain Redp-Prox Prox-two headed snake-CPass (47) do-it-Quot-Perf
mountains slide. (47) It happened then

ał-tXʷ s-nu-Xʷum-s (48) nuƛ̓l (49) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓
Prep-then Der-agent-flow-it (48) canyon (49) do-they-Quot-Perf
that the river flowed. (48) It's a canyon. (49) It happened then

x-tXʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ s-qiXn-amk-it s-ʔay-s x-tXʷ
Prep-then NProx-person-Dist Der-rejoice-Pat-they/it Der-do-it Prep-then
that the people rejoiced that the river was made to flow then.

s-nu-Xʷum-nix-im (50) ʔał-pāX-tum-c̓ ac x-a-s-
Der-agent-flow-LC-Pass (50) Res-name-CPass-Perf this Prep-Prox-Der-
(50) This place that used to be solid on top was

tX-āXł-ik ... ti-ʔus-q̓im-łł-t̓ayx (51) ʔik̓-aXʷ-tū
from-upriver-top surface ... Prox-Dir-solid-DP-Prox (51) Contr-Neg-NContr
given the name TXāXłik. (51) I've not gotten

ƛ̓ap-ayx-c s-ka-k̓x-ic ti-ʔus-q̓im-łł-ck ʔał-tXʷ
go-LCRes-I Der-Unr-see-I/it Prox-Dir-solid-DP-InfDub Prep-there
to go see what used to be solid on top there.

(52) ʔix-uq̓X-cant-alu-lu-k̓ʷ t̓aXʷ tu-sucł-mx-
(52) Distb-call-they/me-Att-Expv-Usit those ones NProx-Kimsquit-people-
(52) They, the Kimsquit people, used to try to call me to go over to look

t̓aXʷ... s-ka-ƛ̓ap-c s-ka-ał-lXʷ-ic wa-si-ʔaXcikayx-tuminic-
Mid ... Der-Unr-go-I Der-Unr-Res-look at-I/it Prox-Der-ʔaXcikayx-CPass-
at the spot there after which I'm named AXcikayx.

cki	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	(53)	ʔal-a-caay-kʷ-c̓	s-k̓ʷpst-ayx-
InfDub	Prep-there	(53)	Prep-Prox-all-Quot-Perf	Der-fix/tidy up-LCRes-

(53) Then all of the things that were happening seemed

liwa-s-kʷ-c̓	wa-c̓kta	aɬ-tXʷ	...	s-nu-Xʷum-s
Sim-it-Quot-Perf	Prox-happen	Prep-then	...	Der-agent-flow-it

to settle down then as the river was flowing.

(54)	ks-txʷ-uc-m-ay-layx-a-kʷ-c̓-tū	ʔul-a-ka-knix-it
(54)	fix-C-mouth-MP-Aux-IC-they-Quot-Perf-NContr	Prep-Prox-Unr-eat-they/it

(54) They were able to gather what they would eat then... from the fish.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ	...	ʔal-a-smɬk-kʷ	(55)	ʔaɬ-ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓	aɬ-tXʷ
Prep-then	...	Prep-Prox-fish-Quot	(55)	Res-do-they-Quot-Perf	Prep-then

(55) That's the way they were then.

* * * * * *

Suwak̓x

Well, I'll just try to tell a story. It's kind of hard for us nowadays. We forget parts of the stories about how things happened back in the beginning.

Well, some people were dropped down at Suwak̓x: Isiyuyut...Ximswa... Swak̓x... Qaqma was their female companion. Swak̓x had been given a water-pot. (We have a woman among our friends here named "Waterpot" (Nusqlata)). They had been given the mountain goat for their provisions. They wanted the mountain goat to turn into a human, but they couldn't do it. The mountain goat spoke to them, saying, "Leave me be. It will be me you use to survive."

He meant that they would eat the goat to stay alive and that is exactly what happened. They ate the mountain goat. Then they went down into the valley below to settle. When they got there they discovered that there was no water. The river was covered over, running beneath a mountain to reach the sea. The people were helpless and they asked the animals to help them - to make a river canyon through the mountain. All the animals were asked to help tear up the earth and make the canyon. They tried but got tired and laid down on the spot where the river was covered over. They went to bed tired. None could make the river canyon. They called upon Caribou to do it and he stomped mightily, but all he did was leave his hoofprints in the earth. This is why our Naqac̓in's name is "Caribou hoofprints" (sƛ̓aXƛ̓aXāł). And it is from this story that I got my name "Goes to bed on top" (AXcikayx). All those called to help became worn out. They got their names because they lay down over the covered river. They could not make the river flow there.

Then they called upon the Sisyuł for help. The Sisyuł must be the fiercest of animals. He caused a rock slide. It is he that causes rockslides. The slide opened up a canyon through which the river could flow on the surface. They named the place where the river had been covered (TXāXłik). I've never been to see the place, myself. The Kimsquit people used to call me to come over and see the place where my name AXcikayx comes from, but I've never seen it. After the river was made to flow everyone settled down. They were able to survive on the fish they caught in the river. That was the way it was then.

Sun's Child

x-
(1) way tm-ʔay-ūc-timut-ɬ-c s-ka-sm̃sma-c
(1) OK just-do-mouth-CRefl-Mid-I Der-Unr-tell story Redp-I Prep-
(1) OK, I'll just tell about these things.

wixɬɬ-sm̃sma-
ac (2) kayxī-c̓ s-ʔayk̓-m-s
these things (2) extreme-Perf Der-be long time-MP-it Prep-tell story
(2) It's been really a long time since it's been told how

wa-sunxʷ-ac (3) ƛ̓ap-
yamk-im s-kamaɬ-k̓ʷaɬ-tn-im-ck
Redp-Pat-Pass Der-when-form-Inst-Pass-InfDub Prox-world-Prox (3) go-
(3) A
the world was formed.

s-ka-sx-lx-likt-m-s
s-kʷ-c̓ iɬ-cācti-ɬ
she-Quot-Perf NProx-young child-Mid Der-Unr-bad-Inch-completely-MP-she
young girl got angry and went away.

x-tu-amat-alāXt-timut-s-tXʷ
(4) ʔiɬ-mna-m-im-ʔiɬ
(4) NProx-offspring-Tr-Pass-Dist Prep-NProx-stay-connection-CRefl-her-Dist
(4) She was the adopted child of her foster parents.

(6) ʔay-kʷ-c̓ s-ʔay-s
(5) sx-lx-likt-m-amk-cut-s-kʷ
(5) bad-Inch-completely-MP-Pat-Refl-she-Quot (6) do-Quot-Perf Der-do-it
(5) She got mad about something and left. (6) She wandered about

wa-
wa-mnta-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-kʷn-āX-uc-is
Prox-path-her-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-walk-behind-edge-she/it Prox-
then following the river.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (8) ʔay-s-
ʔanuXʷum-ʔac (7) sx-lx-likt-m-s-kʷ
river-Prox (7) bad-Inch-completely-MP-she-Quot Prep-then (8) do-it-
(7) She left angry then. (8) It

ta-tixtīX-m-tX
kʷ-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ s-ʔaxʷsnix-ak-is
Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-hear-hand-she/him NProx-pound Redp-MP-Dist
happened then that she heard someone pounding poles upriver.

ˀał-tu-ə̄Xł-tXʷ   (9) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓   s-ka-tł-lx-
Prep-NProx-upriver-Dist (9) go-she-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-strong-Inch-
                         (9) She began to walk faster then, wanting to

uł-timut-s   ˀał-tXʷ   s-ˀanayk-s   s-ka-k̓x-is
direction-CRefl-she Prep-then Der-want-she Der-Unr-see-she/it
see him.

(10) ˀał-ˀay-ak-kʷ-tu-ya   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   s-tixtīX-m-
(10) Res-do-hand-Quot-Conf-Incomp NProx-person-Dist Der-pound Redp-MP-
(10) It was surprisingly a person pounding poles in the middle of the

s-kʷ   ˀał-ta-anukali-s   ta-anuXʷum-tXʷ   (11) tam-siłmak-kʷ-
he-Quot Prep-NP-Middle-its NProx-river-Dist (11) make-fishtrap-Quot-
river.   (11) Maybe he was making

ma-ku   tX (12) ˀaxʷs-kʷ-c̓   ił-cācti-ł   ˀuł-tXʷ
Dub-Surp he (12) holler-Quot-Perf NProx-young child-Mid Prep-there
fishtraps.   (12) She hollered out there to be picked up.

s-ka-kʷn-im   (13) ˀaxʷsnix-im-kʷ-c̓   ał-tXʷ   s-ˀix-ˀaxʷs
Der-Unr-take-Pass (13) hear-Pass-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-Distb-holler
                   (13) She was heard hollering then.

ˀał-tXʷ   (14) ƛ̓ap-m-im-kʷ-c̓   x-tX   s-ka-kʷn-im
Prep-then (14) go-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf Perf-him Der-Unr-fetch-Pass
           (14) She was picked up and taken by him.

(15) c̓Xmayx-kʷ-c̓   s-ak̓a-ał-tum   c̓ayx   ˀūł-tu-suł-s-tXʷ
(15) true-Quot-Perf Der- -foot-CPass this one Prep-NProx-house-his-Dist
(15) She was actually taken to his house and made to go inside.

s-us-txʷ-tum   (16) ˀałps-tum-kʷ-c̓   x-tX   ... ta-ƛ̓msta-
Der-Dir-inside-CPass (16) eat-Cpass-Quot-Perf Prep-him ... NProx-person-
                      (16) She was fed by him ... the person.

tX   (17) ˀałps-tum ˀał-tXʷ   x-tX   ał-tXʷ   (18) cay-uc-
Dist (17) eat-CPass Prep-there Prep-him Prep-then (18) finish-mouth-
      (17) She was fed by him then.   (18) She finished

kʷ-c̓ ˀiłˀaył s-ˀałps ˀał-tXʷ (19) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ
Quot-Perf that one Der-eat Prep-then (19) go-he-Quot-Perf Prep-then
eating then. (19) He went outside to the

s-ka-us-qa-s s-tixtīXʷ-m-s-tu-c̓ ˀūł-tu-ˀanuXʷum-
Der-Unr-Dir-outside-he Der-pound Redp-MP-he-Conf-Perf Prep-NProx-river-
river to pound poles.

tXʷ (20) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka tXʷ s-ˀaxʷs-m-im ˀiłˀaył
Dist (20) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf then Der-holler-Tr-Pass that one
(20) That was when she was hollered to by a woman in front of the

x-ił-ƛ̓msta-ył ˀał-ta-as-ūc-tXʷ (21) tam-st̓xʷm-s-
Prep-NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-Loc-edge-Dist (21) make-floormat-she-
house. (21) The woman was

kʷ ił-ƛ̓msta-ył (22) ˀaX-ku-ya-nu ka-ay-nu x-ˀnc
Quot NProx-person-Dist (22) Neg-Surp-good-you Unr-do-you Prep-me
making floormats. (22) " You won't be any good if you do like me

s-ka-anu-s-ˀay-anm-nu al-a-āxʷa cut-m-im-
Der-Unr-Cont-Der-do-LCDev-you Prep-Prox-surrounding area say-Tr-Pass-
staying here forever," the girl was told by the woman.

kʷ-c̓ ił-cācti-ł x-ˀił-ƛ̓msta-ył (23) wal-tXʷ
Quot-Perf NProx-young person-Dist Prep-NProx-person-Dist (23) leave-Impv
(23) " Leave

(24) ˀay-ał-nu ˀal-a-mamnta-ac (25) nu-ya-yał-
(24) do-foot-you Prep-Prox-path Redp-Prox (25) place-good-foot-
him. (24) Go on this path." (25) She thought the

nix-is-kʷ-c̓ iłˀaył ta-mamnta-tXʷ ˀūł-ta-kuł-
LC-she/it-Quot-Perf that one NProx-path Redp-Dist Prep-NProx-surface-
path was clear to the back of their house.

āX-s tu-suł-aw-tXʷ (26) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ c̓ayx
rear-its NProx-house-their-Dist (26) go-she-Quot-Perf this one
(26) She started then to run away

ˀal-a-ac	s-ka-ƛ̓ikm-timut-s	wixɬɬ-ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	(27)	ƛ̓ikm-
Prep-Prox-then	Der-Unr-run-CRefl-she	Prep-NProx-person-Dist	(27)	run-
from the man.			(27)	She

timut-s-kʷ-c̓	aɬ-tXʷ	(28)	ˀīXʷ-lx-kʷ-alu-tu	ˀiɬˀayɬ
CRefl-she-Quot-Perf	Prep-then	(28)	far-Inch-Quot-Att-Conf	that one
ran away then.		(28)	She got pretty far away then.	

ˀaɬ-tXʷ	(29)	ˀaxʷs-kʷ-c̓	ti-nusqlata-s	ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
Prep-then	(29)	holler-Quot-Perf	Prox-waterpot-his	NProx-person-Dist
	(29)	The man's waterpot hollered.		

(30)	t̓miiiXʷ	(31)	ˀaɬi-X	ƛ̓ikm-timut	ɬa-xnas-nu
(30)	stump	(31)	be at a location-Impv	run-CPass	NProx-woman-your
(30)	"Stuuump!	(31)	Come here! Your wife is running away," the stump's		

cut-s-kʷ-c̓	ti-nusqlata-s	ta-t̓mīXʷ-tX	(32)	ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-
say-he-Quot-Perf	Prox-waterpot-his	NProx-stump-Dist	(32)	go-she-Quot-
waterpot said.			(32)	He went and

c̓	t̓aXʷ	ˀaɬ-tXʷ	s-ka-ˀaɬ-ˀawɬ-is	ˀiɬˀayɬ	s-ka-lip̓cut-
Perf	that one	Prep-then	Der-Unr-Res-follow-he/her	that one	Der-Unr-
followed her in order to make her return to his house.					

tus	ˀaɬ-tXʷ	ˀūɬ-ta-suɬ-s-tXʷ	(33)	wix-i-
return-Che/her	Prep-then	Prep-NProx-house-his-Dist	(33)	be then-Contr-
			(33)	Then she was

c̓i-ka	tXʷ	s-ˀaɬps-tus	ˀaɬ-ta-as-txʷ-s	ta-suɬ-
Contr-Perf	then	Der-eat-Che/her	Prep-NProx-Loc-inside-its	NProx-house-
made to eat inside his house.				

s-tXʷ	(34)	yaa-kʷ	ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	s-ˀanuk̓ʷpt-tus	ˀiɬ-
his-Dist	(34)	good-Quot	NProx-person-Dist	Der-sated-Che/her	NProx-
	(34)	The man was good keeping the girl full then.			

cāctī-ɬ	ˀaɬ-tXʷ	(35)	ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-tu-c̓	s-ka-tīXʷ-
young person-Dist	Prep-then	(35)	go-he-Quot-Conf-Perf	Der-Unr-pound-
		(35)	He went again to pound poles into the	

m-s ʔuɬ-ta-ʔanuXʷum-tXʷ s-ka-cay-ak-timut-m-is ta-
MP-he Prep-NProx-river-Dist Der-Unr-finish-hand-CRefl-Tr-he/it NProx-
river and finish what he was doing.

ks-tus-tX (36) tam-siɬmak-kʷ t̓ayx (37) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s
fix-Che/it-Dist (36) make-fishtrap-Quot this one (37) Res-do-he
(36) He was making a fishtrap. (37) He was doing

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (38) way ƛ̓a-ɬi-X (39) ʔixās-nm-nu
Prep-then (38) OK hindrance-come-Impv (39) search-LCDev-you
that then. (38) " All right, come here. (39) Look in his toolbox.

ʔal-a-nu-s-c̓k-āk-sta-s t̓aw-tX (40) xʷxʷul-
Prep-Prox-place-Der-shape-hand-Inst-his this-Dist (40) drill hole Redp-
(40) Drill holes

ūc-ixʷ wa-nusqlata-s-c (41) ʔaXʷ-m-i-c̓i-k ka-ʔaxʷs-
edge-you/it Prox-waterpot-his-Prox (41) Neg-Dub-Contr-Perf Unr-holler-
around the edge of his waterpot. (41) Maybe it won't be able to

ʔay-layx-s cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔiɬ-ƛ̓msta-yɬ ʔūɬ-iɬ-cācti-
Aux-IC-it say-she-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-young person-
holler then," the woman said to the girl.

ɬ (42) ƛ̓ap-liwa-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔiɬ-cācti-ɬ s-ka-ixās-
Dist (42) go-Sim-she-Quot-Perf NProx-young person-Dist Der-Unr-search-
(42) The girl went and looked in the man's box.

nm-s ʔaɬ-tu-paqiyala-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (43) ƛ̓ap-ak-s-kʷ-
LCDev-she Prep-NProx-box-his NProx-person-Dist (43) go-hand-she-Quot-
(43) She began to drill

c̓ s-ka-xʷlxʷul-ūc-is ta-nusqlata-tXʷ
Perf Der-Unr-drill hole Redp-edge-she/it NProx-waterpot-Dist
holes around the waterpot.

(44) cay-ak-m-is-kʷ-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ s-uq̓X-im-tu-c̓
(44) finish-hand-MP-she/it-Quot-Perf Prep-then Perf-call-Pass-Conf-Perf
(44) When she finished that she was called again by her.

x-ˀił	(45)	cy-us-im-kʷ-c̓	ał-tXʷ	... x-tu-cy-
Prep-her	(45)	put-front-Pass-Quot-Perf	Prep-then	... Prep-NProx-put-
	(45)	She was handed something then... the things handed to her		

us-im-tXʷ	ta-sk̓ma-tX	ˀn	ta-q̓ʷasta-tX	ˀn	ta-
front-Pass-Dist	NProx-comb-Dist	and	NProx-wool-Dist	and	NProx-
were a comb and some wool and a whetstone.					

st̓awłt-tX	(46)	nu-na-nix-ik-m-ic-ˀi-c̓i-k
whetstone-Dist	(46)	internal-forget-LC-internal-Tr-I/it-Contr-Perf
	(46)	I forget one of them.

ti-s-maw-t̓ayx	(47)	mūs-k̓ʷ	ac	(48)	way	ƛ̓ła-it
Prox-Der-one-Prox	(47)	four-Usit	these ones	(48)	OK	go-Exh
	(47)	There are four of them.		(48)	"OK, you can go.	

(49)	kamał-inix-a-yāq-nay-nix-ī-ct	x-tX	s-ka-pakʷ-nix-ct
(49)	when-more-Intr-behind-Aux-LC-Dim-Pass	Prep-him	Der-Unr-catch-LC-Pass
(49)	When you're just about caught by him catching up to you then you		

x-tX	s-ka-tay-amk-ixʷ	t̓ayx	ˀal-a-ka-tx-amat-łł-
Prep-him	Der-Unr-throw-Pat-you/it	this one	Prep-Prox-Unr-from-stay-DP-
throw this behind you," she was told by the woman.			

ał-nu	cut-m-im-kʷ-c̓	x-ił-λ̓msta-ył	(50)	ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-
foot-you	say-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf	Prep-NProx-person-Dist	(50)	go-she-Quot-
			(50)	She started

c̓	iłˀaył	s-ka-ƛ̓ikm-s	ˀał-tXʷ	(51)	ˀīXʷ-am-s-kʷ	ˀał-tXʷ
Perf	that one	Der-Unr-run-she	Prep-then	(51)	far-CD-she-Quot	Prep-then
to run then.				(51)	She had gotten so far	

s-tulu-amk-cut-s	ta-nusqlata-tX	s-axʷs-m-is	ta-
Der-succeed-Pat-Refl-he	NProx-waterpot-Dist	Der-holler-Tr-he/him	NProx-
then when the waterpot succeeded in hollering to the stump.			

t̓mīXʷ-tX	ˀał-tXʷ	(52)	xuluxuluxuluxuluuu	cucut-s-kʷ-c̓
stump-Dist	Prep-then	(52)		say Redp-he-Quot-Perf
		(52)	"Huluhuluhuluhulooo," the waterpot said	

s-ʔix-ʔaxʷs-ʔalu   ta-nusqlata-tX   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (53)   ʔaɬ-tu-
Der-Distb-holler-Att   NProx-waterpot-Dist   Prep-then   (53)   Prep-NProx-
trying to holler out then.   (53)   In a little

wayx-ī-kʷ-c̓-tX   s-ɬk̓m-ay-layx-s   ta-nusqlata-tX
span of time-Dim-Quot-Perf-Dist   Der-speak-Aux-IC-he   NProx-waterpot-Dist
while the waterpot was able to speak.

(54)   ʔaɬi-X   t̓miiiXʷ   (55)   ƛ̓ap-ɬ-su-c̓   ɬa-xnas-
(54)   be in a location-Impv   stump   (55)   go-Mid-Expb-Perf   NProx-woman-
(54)   "Come here, Stump!   (55)   Your wife has begun to run away

nuu   s-ƛ̓ikm-timuuut-ɬ-s   cut-kʷ-i-c̓i-k   t̓aXʷ   ...   ta-
your   Der-run-CRefl-Mid-she   say-Quot-Contr-Perf   that one ...   NProx-
again," the waterpot said.

nusqlata-tX   (56)   ʔaɬ-ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓   x-tXʷ   ʔiɬ-cācti-
waterpot-Dist   (56)   Res-do-she-Quot-Perf   Prep-then   NProx-young person-
(56)   The young girl had done just that.

ɬ   (57)   ʔinix-a-yāq-nay-nix-ī-t-im   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   s-tay-amk-
Dist   (57)   more-Intr-behind-Aux-LC-Dim-Tr-Pass   Prep-then   Der-throw-Pat-
(57)   Just as she was about to be caught then she threw it down

is-kʷ-c̓   ʔuɬ-ta-si-alūX-āX-ɬɬ-s-tXʷ   (58)   ʔaɬ-
she/it-Quot-Perf   Prep-NProx-Der-be behind-behind-DP-her-Dist   (58)   Res-
behind her.   (58)   The

ʔay-uc-kʷ   iɬ-ƛ̓msta-yɬ   s-ka-ʔaɬ-k̓ʷnta-liwa-t-is
do-mouth-Quot   NProx-person-Dist   Der-Unr-Res-decide-Sim-Tr-she/her
woman had said that when she gave her instructions to do like that.

s-ka-aɬ-ʔay-s   x-tXʷ   (59)   tay-amk-is-kʷ-c̓   ʔiɬ-
Der-Unr-Res-do-she   Prep-then   (59)   throw-Pat-she/it-Quot-Perf   NProx-
(59)   The young girl threw it on the path

cācti-ɬ   ʔuɬ-ta-mntaɬ-ɬɬ-s-tXʷ   (60)   tq̓-
young person-Dist   Prep-NProx-path-DP-her-Dist   (60)   thing added-
behind her.   (60)   The comb became

āX-am-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-sk̓ma-tX (61) way (62) tq̓-
distributed-CD-it-Quot-Perf NProx-comb-Dist (61) OK (62) thing added-
dense growth. (61) OK. (62) The place

āX-am-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-alūX-łł-s ła-căctī-ł
distributed-CD-it-Quot-Perf NProx-be behind-DP-her NProx-young person-Dist
behind the young girl got all bushy.

(63) ʔix-aq̓ʷ-ayx-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx... t̓mīXʷ... ʔał-tu-
(63) Distb-caught-LCRes-he-Quot-Perf this one ... stump ... Prep-NProx-
(63) He, Stump, caught hung up here and there on his way trying to follow

mnta-s-tXʷ s-ʔał-ʔawł-is-kʷ-alu ʔił-căctī-ł
path-his-Dist Der-Res-follow-he/her-Quot-Att NProx-young person-Dist
the young girl.

(64) xʷp-ayx-s-kʷ-tu-c̓ t̓ayx ʔal-a-ac (65) ʔiiiXʷ-
(64) untie-LCRes-he-Quot-Conf-Perf this one Prep-Prox-here (65) far-
(64) Then he got loose again. (65) The

lx-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔił-căctī-ł s-xʷp-ayx-nimut-s-
Inch-she-Quot-Perf NProx-young person-Dist Der-untie-LCRes-LCRefl-he-
young girl had gotten far by the time the person had gotten untangled.

kʷ-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (66) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k ac s-ƛ̓ikm-
Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist (66) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf this Der-run-
(66) Then he ran again following her.

s-tu-c̓ s-ka-ał-ʔawł-is (67) ʔay-s-kʷ-tu-c̓
he-Conf-Perf Der-Unr-Res-follow-he/her (67) do-he-Quot-Conf-Perf
(67) It happened again then

ʔał-tXʷ s-ʔinix-a-yāq-nay-nix-ī-t-im x-tX (68) ƛ̓ap-
Prep-then Der-more-Intr-behind-Aux-LC-Dim-Tr-Pass Prep-him (68) go-
that she was just about to be caught by him. (68) She

tus-kʷ-tu-ċ s-ka-tay-amk-is ta-q̓ʷasta-tX
Cshe/it-Quot-Conf-Perf Der-Unr-throw-Pat-she/it NProx-wool-Dist
left something again throwing the wool on the spot behind her.

ʔuł-ta-si-alūX-āX-łł-s-tXʷ (69) nucał-anm-s-kʷ-c̓
Prep-NProx-Der-be behind-behind-DP-her-Dist (69) pond-LCDev-it-Quot-Perf
(69) The path she had taken

ta-mnta-łł-s-tXʷ (70) łk̓ʷ-anǎc-am-s-kʷ-c̓ s-nucał-s
NProx-path-DP-her-Dist (70) big-really-CD-it-Quot-Perf Der-pond-it
turned into a pond. (70) The pond became a really big lake.

(71) sulut-an-s-kʷ-ma-c̓ ał-tXʷ (72) ʔał-ʔay-kʷ-tu-c̓
(71) ocean-CD-it-Quot-Dub-Perf Prep-then (72) Res-do-Quot-Conf-Perf
(71) Maybe it became an ocean then. (72) Stump did like before

ʔał-tXʷ t̓mīXʷ s-kʷn-ūc-is tu-mnta-ł-s ʔił-cǎctī-ł
Prep-then stump Der-walk-edge-he/it NProx-path-Mid-her NProx-youth-Dist
walking along the edge of the young girls's path.

(73) xʷp-ayx-s-kʷ-tu-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ ... ʔał-ta-alūX-am-
(73) untie-LCRes-he-Quot-Conf-Perf Prep-then ... Prep-NProx-be behind-CD-
(73) He got by again the last place she had gone through.

tXʷ (74) tay-amk-is-kʷ-tu-c̓ s-ʔinix-a-yāq-nix-ī-
Dist (74) throw-Pat-she/it-Quot-Conf-Perf Der-more-Intr-behind-LC-Dim-
(74) She threw something again when she was just about caught by

t-im x-tXʷ (75) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka tXʷ s-smt-am-s
Tr-Pass Prep-then (75) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf then Der-mountain-CD-it
him. (75) Then the whetstone turned into a mountain.

(76) st̓awłt-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx ta-tay-amk-is ał-tXʷ
(76) whetstone-Quot-Perf this one NProx-throw-Pat-she/it Prep-then
(76) It was a whetstone that she threw then on the path behind her.

ʔał-ta-mnta-ll-s-tXʷ (77) smt-anm-s-kʷ-c̓ (78) ʔał-
Prep-NProx-path-DP-her-Dist (77) mountain-LCDev-it-Quot-Perf (78) Res-
(77) It's becoming a mountain. (78) Stump

ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ t̓mīXʷ s-ʔaXʷ-c̓ ʔaq̓ʷ-ayx-s ʔał-tXʷ
do-he-Quot-Perf Prep-then stump Der-Neg-Perf lock up-LCRes-he Prep-then
did as before not getting caught there.

(79) lq̓lum-s-kʷ-alu-c̓ ʔał-ti-smt ... ʔił-cācti-ł
(79) climb Redup-she-Quot-Att-Perf Prep-Prox-mountain ... NProx-youth-Dist
(79) She, the little girl, kept trying to climb the mountain.

(80) mūs-kʷ ʔac (81) na-nix-ik-m-ic-i-c̓i-k
(80) four-Quot these ones (81) forget-LC-internal-Tr-I/it-Contr-Perf
(80) There were four of these. (81) But I've forgotten what one of them

ti-s-maw-t̓ayx s-ʔał-ʔay-s-ck (82) ʔinix-a-ʔī-kʷ-ma-lu-
Prox-Der-one-Prox Der-Res-do-it-InfDub (82) close-Intr-Dim-Quot-Dub-Expv-
was like. (82) She must have been close to

ku-c̓n ʔił ʔuł-ti-snX-t̓ayx ʔal-a-ac (83) ƛ̓ikm-s s-ƛ̓ikm-
Surp-Impf she Prep-Prox-sun-Prox Prep-Prox-here (83) run-she Der-run-
the sun. (83) She ran on and

s-kʷ ʔał-tXʷ (84) c̓kt-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔuł-ta-suł-
she-Quot Prep-then (84) reach/arrive-she-Quot-Perf Prep-NProx-house-
on then. (84) She arrived at his house.

s-tXʷ (85) łm-s-kʷ-c̓ ił̓ʔaył ʔał-ta-as-qa-
his-Dist (85) stand-she-Quot-Perf that one Prep-NProx-Loc-outside-
(85) She stopped and stood in front of it.

yk-us-tXʷ (86) ʔaxʷs-m-im-kʷ-c̓ iłʔaył x-tX
middle-front-Dist (86) holler-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf that one Prep-him
(86) She was hollered to by him.

(87) ʔałi-X (88) ʔus-txʷ-nu ka-inu-s ci-
(87) be in a location-Impv (88) Dir-inside-you Unr-be you-it Prox-
(87) " Come here! (88) Come inside if you are the one who got

sx-lx-likt-m-ck cut-m-im-kʷ-c̓n x-tX (89) qʷi-
bad-Inch-completely-MP-InfDub say-Tr-Pass-Quot-Impf Prep-him (89) open-
angry and ran away," she was told by him. (89) She

yuc-is-kʷ-c̓ ʔiłʔaył tu-suł-tXʷ (90) ʔał-ʔay-kʷ-tu-
edge-she/it-Quot-Perf that one NProx-house-Dist (90) Res-do-Quot-Conf-
opened the door to the house. (90) Much heat struck

ya ti-s-kʷɬ ʔuɬ-ʔiɬ (91) num-uc-is-kʷ-tu-c̓
Incomp Prox-Der-heat Prep-her (91) close-edge-she/it-Quot-Conf-Perf
her. (91) She closed the door again.

(92) ʔaɬi-X (93) ʔaX-tXʷ pāXu-nu cut-m-im-
(92) be at a location-Impv (93) Neg-Impv be afraid-you say-Tr-Pass-
(92) " Come here! (93) Don't be afraid," she was told again by

kʷ-tu-c̓ x-tX (94) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka ʔac s-ƛ̓ap-m-
Quot-Conf-Perf Prep-him (94) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf this Der-go-Tr-
him. (94) This is when she was begun to have her

im-c̓n c̓ayx x-ti-snX-c̓n-t̓ayx s-ka-yul-ūɬ-a-t-im
Pass-Impf this one Prep-Prox-sun-Impf-Prox Der-Unr-rub-body-Intr-Tr-Pass
body rubbed by the sun.

x-tX (95) ʔaɬ-yul-ūɬ-a-t-im-kʷ-c̓ x-tX ʔaɬ-tXʷ
Prep-him (95) Res-rub-body-Intr-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf Prep-him Prep-then
(95) Her body was rubbed by him then.

(96) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ aɬ-tXʷ s-us-txʷ-ayx-s (97) ʔay-tum-
(96) do-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-Dir-inside-LCRes-she (97) do-CPass-
(96) It happened then that she got inside. (97) She was

kʷ-c̓ iɬ x-tX s-ʔaɬps-tum (98) ʔus-txʷ-ayx uɬ-
Quot-Perf she Prep-him Der-eat-CPass (98) Dir-inside-LCRes Prep-
made to eat by him. (98) She got inside the house.

tu-suɬ-tXʷ (99) ʔaX-kʷ ti-ka-ʔaɬ-t̓q-ī ti-ka-stam
NProx-house-Dist (99) Neg-Quot Prox-Unr-Res-stuck-Dim Prox-Unr-thing
(99) There was nothing at all on the walls inside the

ʔaɬ-ta-as-txʷ-s ta-suɬ-tXʷ ... ti-ka-stam
Prep-NProx-Loc-inside-its NProx-house-Dist ... Prox-Unr-thing
house ... absolutely nothing at all.

(100) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ c̓ayx ʔal-a-ac s-ka-ʔmt-ī-s
(100) go-she-Quot-Perf this one Prep-Prox-then Der-Unr-sit-Dim-she
(100) She went then and sat down.

(101) ʔaɬps-tum-kʷ-c̓n c̓ayx x-ti-man-ɬ-t̓ayx
(101) eat-CPass-Quot-Impf this one Prep-Prox-father-our-Prox
(101) She was fed by our father.

(102) wix-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k s-cay-uc-s ʔiɬʔayɬ s-ʔaɬps
(102) be then-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf Der-finish-mouth-she that one Der-eat
(102) When she had finished eating, the one who had followed her showed

s-tuin-m-s ta-ʔaɬ-awɬ-t-tX (103) c̓kt-s-tu-c̓
Der-show up-MP-he NProx-Res-follow-he/her-Dist (103) arrive-he-Conf-Perf
up. (103) The one who had

ta-aɬ-ʔawɬ-t-tX ... t̓mīXʷ (104) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k
NProx-Res-follow-he/her-Dist ... stump (104) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf
followed her, Stump, arrived. (104) Then the person went inside.

tXʷ s-us-txʷ-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (105) ʔaX-kʷ-c̓ ƛ̓ap-s
then Der-Dir-inside-he NProx-person-Dist (105) Neg-Quot-Perf go-he
(105) The sun did not go and

t̓ayx ti-snX-t̓ayx s-ka-yul-ūɬ-a-t-is t̓aX
this one Prox-sun-Prox Der-Unr-rub-body-Intr-Tr-he/him that one
rub his body.

(106) ʔay-kʷ-tu aɬ-tXʷ s-sxʷm-ālXi-s t̓mīXʷ
(106) do-Quot-Conf Prep-then Der-burn-back of head-he stump
(106) It really happened that Stump's hair caught on fire.

(107) sxʷm-ālXi-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔaɬ-tXʷ (108) si-ʔay-s-ck
(107) burn-back of head-he-Quot-Perf Prep-then (108) Der-do-it-InfDub
(107) His hair burned then. (108) Maybe that was

ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-ʔat̓ma-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ t̓mīXʷ (109) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka
Prep-then Der-die-he Prep-then ... stump (109) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf
why Stump died then. (109) That's when he cast him

tXʷ s-ʔikʷɬ-amk-is t̓aX ʔaɬ-tXʷ (110) s-q̓m-ɬɬ-
then Der-cast away-Pat-he/it that one Prep-then (110) Der-scorch-DP-
away then. (110) Stump was

s-kʷ-c̓ ta-t̓mīXʷ-tX (111) tix-kʷ t̓ayx way ti-
he-Quot-Perf NProx-stump-Dist (111) be he-Quot this one OK Prox-
charcoal. (111) That's the one, OK, the one called

t̓mīXʷ-tum ʔal-a-amat-ił-ac s-ʔapsuł-ił (112) wix-kʷ-m-
stump-CPass Prep-Prox-stay-we-Prox Der-live-we (112) be it-Quot-Dub-
Stump in our village (is named after). (112) Maybe this is why

i-c̓i-k ac si-t̓mīXʷ-tum (113) ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k ʔałnap-
Contr-Perf this Der-stump-CPass (113) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf know-
he's called "Stump". (113) The young girl didn't know what

liwa-cut-s ʔił-cācti̅-ł way s-ʔałi-s ʔał-tX ...
Sim-Refl-she NProx-youth-Dist OK Der-be in a location-she Prep-him ...
she was doing with him... with the sun.

ʔał-ti-snX-t̓ayx (114) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ s-ʔaciw-
Prep-Prox-sun-Prox (114) happen-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-abdominal
(114) It happened then that she was pregnant.

lt-s ʔał-tXʷ (115) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-c̓ ʔałnap-is ʔił ʔaył
cavity-child-she Prep-then (115) Neg-Quot-Perf know-she/it that one
(115) She didn't know that she would be

s-ka-ʔaciw-lt-nix-im x-ta-snX-tX
Der-Unr-abdominal cavity-child-LC-Pass Prep-NProx-sun-Dist
pregnant from the sun.

(116) ʔaciw-lt-s-kʷ-c̓ iłʔaył (117) ʔaciw-
(116) abdominal cavity-child-she-Quot-Perf that one (117) abdominal
(116) She was pregnant. (117) She was

lt-s-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ (118) ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k
cavity-child-she-Quot-Perf Prep-then (118) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
pregnant then. (118) She wasn't long then in

ayk̓-s ʔiłʔaył ʔał-tXʷ ... way ... s-nūsqa-s x-
be long-she that one Prep-then ... OK ... Der-give birth-she Prep-
giving birth to her boy.

ti-immīkī-s (119) ʔimmīkī-kʷ ta-s-nūsqa-s ʔiłʔaył
Prox-boy-her (119) boy-Quot NProx-Der-give birth-she that one
(119) It was a boy that she had.

(120) sm-ʔał-pāX-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx
(120) from the beginning-Res-give a name-he-Quot-Perf this one
(120) He was named right from the beginning.

(121) ʔałnap-is-kʷ-c̓ ta-qīqtī-tX wa-skʷacta-tum x-ti-
(121) know-he/it-Quot-Perf NProx-baby-Dist Prox-name-CPass Prep-Prox-
(121) The baby knew what he had been named by our father.

man-ł (122) kankłī-tum t̓ayx (123) ʔas-xł-mna-lx-s
father-our (122) kankłī-CPass this one (123) Loc-have-child-Inch-she
(122) He was called Kankłī. (123) She had her first child

cx ʔał-ti-kankłī-t̓ayx (124) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ x-tXʷ ʔiłʔaył
she Prep-Prox-kankłī-Prox (124) do-she-Quot-Perf Prep-then that one
with Kankłī. (124) She did it then.

(125) tł-ūł-s-kʷ-c̓ s-lq̓-tis wa-amat-
(125) strong-direction-she-Quot-Perf Der-think-she/them Prox-stay-
(125) Suddenly she thought of her foster parents.

alāXt-s (126) swalut-ayx-s-ck ʔuł-tXʷ ʔał-tXʷ
connection-her (126) be lonely-LCRes-she-InfDub Prep-them Prep-then
(126) Maybe she was lonely for them then.

(127) ʔa-nu-axʷsnix-ik-im-kʷ-c̓ c̓ayx x-ti-snX-
(127) Res-internal-hear-internal-Pass-Quot-Perf this one Prep-Prox-sun-
(127) Her thoughts were heard by the sun.

t̓ayx (128) yaya-liwa-timut-X ka-ƛ̓ap-nu ka-Xim-s cut-s-
Prox (128) good Redp-Sim-CRefl-Impv Unr-go-you Unr-dawn-it say-he-
(128) " Be brave when you go in the morning," the person said to

kʷ-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ʔūł-ił (129) wix-kʷ-c̓ c
Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-her (129) be they-Quot-Perf they
her. (129) They say that the sunrays

wa-sk̓ałuclayx-s	ti-snX-t̓ayx	wa-snX-āł-ʔac	ʔuł-ti-kuł-
Prox-eyelashes-his	Prox-sun-Prox	Prox-sun-column-Prox	Prep-Prox-surface-
to the earth we live on are the sun's eyelashes.			

ulmx	ti-amat-ił-t̓ayx	(130)	wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k	tXʷ	wa-ał-
earth	Prox-stay-we-Prox	(130)	be they-Quot-Contr-Perf	they	Prox-Res-
		(130)	It's those that the young girl walked		

kʷn-ik-is	ʔił-cāctī-ł	(131)	ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓	ał-
walk-median line-she/it	NProx-youth-Dist	(131)	go-she-Quot-Perf	Prep-
along.		(131)	She went then.	

tXʷ	(132)	ʔay-s-kʷ-tu-c̓	ʔiłʔaył	s-nu-qic̓-lx-
then	(132)	do-she-Quot-Conf-Perf	that one	Der-internal-start-Inch-
	(132)	She went and got afraid then.		

ik-s	ʔał-tXʷ	(133)	ka-ƛ̓ap-ayx-c-a-ma-tu	ʔał-
internal-she	Prep-then	(133)	Unr-go-LCRes-I-question-Dub-Conf	Prep-
		(133)	" Can I really walk on this sunray?" she	

ti-snX-āł-t̓ayx	cut-s-kʷ-c̓n	ʔiłʔaył	(134)	ʔaw	ƛ̓ap-ayx-
Prox-sun-column-Prox	say-she-Quot-Impf	that one	(134)	Yes	go-LCRes-
said.			(134)	" Yes, you can	

nu-tu	(135)	ƛ̓ap-ayx-nu-tu	(136)	ƛ̓ła-it	(137)	kʷn-ik-
you-Conf	(135)	go-LCRes-you-Conf	(136)	go-Exh	(137)	walk-median line-
go.	(135)	You can go.	(136)	Go on!"	(137)	She walked along

is-kʷ-c̓	ʔiłʔaył	ta-snX-āł-tXʷ	ʔūł-łmił	ʔūXnk
she/it-Quot-Perf	that one	NProx-sun-column-Dist	Prep-us	downwards
the sunrays to us down to where we live now.				

ʔūl-a-amat-ił-c̓n-ʔac	s-ʔapsuł-ił	(138)	ʔał-kʷn-ak-is-
Prep-Prox-stay-we-Impf-Prox	Der-live-we	(138)	Res-walk-hand-she/him-
		(138)	She led her son, Kankłi,

kʷ-c̓	ta-mna-s-tX	...	kankłī	(139)	kʷanat-s-kʷ-c̓
Quot-Perf	NProx-child-her-Dist	...	kankłī	(139)	cry-she-Quot-Perf
by the hand.				(139)	Her mother was crying

ˀił-stan-s-ił ˀał-ta-sXicta-naw-tXʷ (140) c̓kt-s
NProx-mother-her-Dist Prep-NProx-bedroom-their-Dist (140) arrive-she
in their bedroom. (140) She reached

ˀał-tXʷ uł-tu-kuł-āX-aw-tXʷ (141) ˀał-ay-uł-
Prep-then Prep-NProx-surface-rear-their-Dist (141) Res-do-direction-
the back (of their house) then. (141) Her path led to the

ūs-kʷ-lu-c̓ ta-mnta-s-tX ˀūł-ta-kuł-āX-s
face-Quot-Expv-Perf NProx-path-her-Dist Prep-NProx-surface-rear-its
back of their house.

ta-suł-aw-tXʷ (142) ˀaxʷs-m-is-kʷ-c̓ ił-ƛ̓msta-
NProx-house-their-Dist (142) holler-Tr-she/her-Quot-Perf NProx-person-
(142) The woman hollered to one of her daughters

ył ci-nu-maw ˀał-tu-mamnc-tXʷ s-ka-k̓yuk-is
Dist Prox-human-one Prep-NProx-child Redp-Dist Der-Unr-determine-she/him
to see who was the one playing tricks.

ti-yayaX-m-t (143) ƛ̓ap-X s-ka-k̓yuk-ixʷ
Prox-play tricks on-MP-he/her (143) go-Impv Der-Unr-determine-you/him
(143) " Go see who's at the back of the

ti-kuł-āX-ck cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ił-stan-aw-ił
Prox-surface-rear-InfDub say-she-Quot-Perf NProx-mother-their-Dist
house," their mother said.

(144) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ ił-cācti-ł s-ƛ̓ikm-s s-ˀus-qa-s
(144) go-she-Quot-Perf NProx-youth-Dist Der-run-she Der-Dir-outside-she
(144) The little girl went running outside to see who it was.

(145) cix ła-ƛ̓aqamūc-ayu cut-s-kʷ-i-c̓i-k ˀiłˀaył
(145) be she NProx-ƛ̓aqamūc-honorific say-she-Quot-Contr-Perf that one
(145) " It's ƛ̓aqamūc," she said returning to her mother.

s-lip̓-cut-s ˀuł-ił-stan-s-ił (146) ˀananācnˀay
Der-return-Refl-she Prep-NProx-mother-her-Dist (146) Oh no
(146) "Oh no!" their

cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ił-stan-aw-ił (147) ˀulˀulX-
say-she-Quot-Perf NProx-mother-their-Dist (147) act irrationally Redp-
mother said. (147) " You must be teasing

uc-timut-nu-ma ˀuł-ˀnc (148) ˀał-tu-ˀayk̓-tXʷ s-
mouth-CRefl-you-Dub Prep-me (148) Prep-NProx-be long time-Dist Der-
me. (148) It's been a long time since she left

wal-tułs (149) ˀał-ˀat̓ma-ma-ku-c̓i-ks cut-s-kʷ ˀił-ƛ̓msta-
leave-she/us (149) Res-die-Dub-Surp-Perf-Ind say-she-Quot NProx-person-
us. (149) But she must be dead now," the woman said to her

ył ˀuł-ił-mna-s-ił (150) ˀaxʷs-m-is-kʷ-tu-c̓
Dist Prep-NProx-child-her-Dist (150) holler-Tr-she/her-Quot-Conf-Perf
daughter. (150) She hollered again to another one.

ˀił-nu-maw-ˀił (151) ˀanu-s-qʷi-nix-is (152) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-
NProx-human-one-Dist (151) Cont-Der-open-LC-she/her (152) go-she-Quot-
(151) She didn't believe her. (152) The other one

tu-c̓ ił-nu-maw-ił s-ka-k̓x-is (153) ˀay-uc-kʷ-
Conf-Perf NProx-human-one-Dist Der-Unr-see-she/her (153) do-mouth-Quot-
went to see. (153) She said the

tu-c̓ x-ˀił (154) ˀał-ci-cix-tu cx cut-s-kʷ-c̓
Conf-Perf Prep-her (154) Res-Prox-be she-Conf she say-she-Quot-Perf
same as the first. (154) " It's her all right," she said.

(155) ˀał-ci-cix-tu cx (156) ˀas-mna-yak-ī cx ... way
(155) Res-Prox-be she-Conf she (156) Loc-child-hand-Dim she ... OK
(155) " It's her all right. (156) She's got a child... OK.

(157) ˀay-uc-ł-kʷ-i-c̓i-k s-ka-sqc̓-ulmx-ił ˀac
(157) do-mouth-Mid-Quot-Contr-Perf Der-Unr-sand-floor-we here
(157) She said for us to put sand on the floor here.

(158) ka-wayx-łł ka-sqc̓ s-ka-us-txʷ-s-kʷ
(158) Unr-span of time-DP Unr-sand Der-Unr-Dir-inside-she-Quot
(158) When there is fresh sand, she'll come inside the house," the little

ʔul-a-suł-ac cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ił-cāctī-ł ʔuł-ił-
Prep-Prox-house-Prox say-she-Quot-Perf NProx-youth-Dist Prep-NProx-
girl said to their mother.

stan-aw-ił (159) ƛ̓ap-liwa-na-kʷ-lu-c̓ s-ka-ka-sqc̓-aw
mother-their-Dist (159) go-Sim-they-Quot-Expv-Perf Der-Unr-seek-sand-they
(159) They went to go get fresh sand.

(160) c̓Xmayx-a-kʷ-c̓ s-ʔałʔa-łXʷ-cut-aw ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-
(160) true-they-Quot-Perf Der-Res Redp-rush-Refl-they Prep-then Der-Unr-
(160) They really rushed then to get their houses spread with sand.

sqc̓-ulmx-ay-nix-it tu-suł-aw-tXʷ (161) ƛ̓ap-liwa-na-kʷ-
sand-floor-Aux-LC-they/it NProx-house-their-Dist (161) go-Sim-they-Quot-
(161) The children of

c̓ wa-mamnc-s ʔił-stan-ʔił ʔn ti-mna-s ʔił-
Perf Prox-child Redp-her NProx-mother-Dist and Prox-child-her NProx-
the mother and her child's son went to play outside then.

mna-s-ʔił s-ka-Xʷism-aw ʔał-tXʷ ʔał-ta-as-qa-tXʷ
child-her-Dist Der-Unr-play-they Prep-then Prep-NProx-Loc-outside-Dist

(162) ƛ̓ap-m-im-kʷ-k̓ʷ ta-qīqtī-tX s-ka-ʔał-liq̓ʷ-im
(162) go-Tr-Pass-Quot-Usit NProx-youth-Dist Der-Unr-Res-roll-Pass
(162) He began to be rolled every now and then by his playmates.

x-tu-stam-Xʷism-s-tXʷ (163) k̓ʷpap-lx-timut-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ t̓aXʷ
Prep-NProx-co-play-his-Dist (163) clear-Inch-CRefl-he-Quot-Usit that one
(163) He would explain to them that it was

s-tix-s ti-snX-t̓ayx ti-man-s (164) kankłī-tuminic
Der-be he-he Prox-sun-Prox Prox-father-his (164) kankłī-CPass
the sun who was his father. (164) " I am called 'Kankłī'"

cucut-s-kʷ-alu-k̓ʷ ta-qīqtī-tX uł-tu-stam-Xʷism-s-tXʷ
say Redp-he-Quot-Att-Usit NProx-youth-Dist Prep-NProx-co-play-his-Dist
the young boy would try to say to his playmates.

(165) ˀay-uc-a-kʷ ta-stam-Xʷism-s-tXʷ ha ... kankłī-tum-c̓
(165) do-mouth-they-Quot NProx-co-play-his-Dist ha ... kankłī-CPass-Perf
(165) His playmates said, " Ha... his name is Kankłī.

(166) nu-ya-yuł-aq̓ʷs (167) ˀanu-XʷuXʷum-uł-aq̓ʷs-
(166) agent-good-distributed-eye (167) Cont-flow Redp-distributed-eye-
(166) He had good looking eyes." (167) The little boy had tears in his

ī-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-qīqtī-tX (168) ˀay-uc-k̓ʷu t̓ayx s-
Dim-he-Quot-Perf NProx-youth-Dist (168) do-mouth-Usit this one Der-
eyes. (168) " He keeps saying that the sun

tix-s ta-snX-t̓aX ti-man-s ... ˀaXʷ-ˀi-c̓i-k-tū
be he-he NProx-sun-Mid Prox-father-his ... Neg-Contr-Perf-NContr
is his father, but he's no good nevertheless," they said to him.

ya-s cut-a-kʷ-i-c̓i-k t̓aXʷ ˀuł-tX (169) qīXlix-
good-he say-they-Quot-Contr-Perf those ones Prep-him (169) call down-
(169) They made

it-kʷ-c̓ (170) ˀał-ˀay-s-kʷ ta-căcti-tX s-sixsiq̓ʷ-
they/him-Quot-Perf (170) Res-do-he-Quot NProx-youth-Dist Der-jump Redp-
fun of him. (170) The little boy was growing by leaps and bounds.

ī-s s-pus (171) Xim-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ s-łk̓ʷ-s-tu-c̓ t̓aX
Dim-he Der-grow (171) dawn-it-Quot-Usit Der-big-he-Conf-Perf that one
(171) The next day he would be even bigger.

(172) Xim-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ s-ˀał-ay-s ˀał-tXʷ (173) ˀay-s-kʷ
(172) dawn-it-Quot-Usit Der-Res-do-he Prep-then (173) do-he-Quot
(172) The next day it would be the same. (173) Then he asked his

x-tXʷ s-k̓ʷnta-cut-s ˀuł-ta-kuqʷpi-s-tX s-ka-
Prep-then Der-decide-Refl-he Prep-NProx-grandfather-his-Dist Der-Unr-
grandfather to make him some arrows.

tam-t̓ksnimta-tum (174) k̓ʷnta-cut-s-kʷ-tū ˀūł-ił-kikya-
make-arrow-CPass (174) decide-Refl-he-Quot-NContr Prep-NProx-grandmother-
(174) And he asked his grandmother to make a quiver.

s-ʔiɬ	s-ka-tam-nusik̓ʷikta-tum	(175)	ti-ka-c̓ulapla	ka-amat-aw
his-Dist	Der-Unr-make-quiver-CPass	(175)	Prox-Unr-quiver	Unr-stay-they
		(175)	It's the quiver where his	

tu-t̓ksnimta-s-tXʷ	s-ka-aɬ-nmp-aw	(176)	ƛ̓ap-ak-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu
NProx-arrow-his-Dist	Der-Unr-Res-put into-they	(176)	go-hand-he-Quot-Usit
arrows will be put.		(176)	The boy began to

ta-cāctī-tX	s-ka-t̓ksnsn-a-s	ʔul-a-sunxʷ-ac	ʔaɬ-tXʷ
NProx-youth-Dist	Der-Unr-shoot Redp-Intr-he	Prep-Prox-sky-Prox	Prep-then
shoot into the sky then.			

(177)	kamaɬ-q̓ʷala-yak-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu	t̓aX	ʔaɬ-ta-t̓ksnimta-s-
(177)	when-be no more-hand-he-Quot-Usit	that one	Prep-NProx-arrow-his-
(177)	When he had used up his arrows he returned to his grandfather.		

tXʷ	s-lip̓-cut-s	ʔuɬ-ta-kuqʷpi-s-tX	(178)	ƛ̓ap-uc-
Dist	Der-return-Refl-he	Prep-NProx-grandfather-his-Dist	(178)	go-mouth-
			(178)	He asked

kʷ-tu-c̓	t̓aX	s-ka-aɬqʷaɬa-t-is	s-ka-tam-
Quot-Conf-Perf	that one	Der-Unr-tell politely-Tr-he/him	Der-Unr-make-
him again to make arrows.			

t̓ksnimta-tum	(179)	stam-l-tu-tu-ks	wa-c̓kta-tutixʷ	wa-
arrow-CPass	(179)	thing- -Conf-Conf-Ind	Prox-happen-Cyou/them	Prox-
	(179)	" What are you doing to your arrows that you use them		

t̓ksnimta-nu-c	si-ƛ̓i-yak-nu	s-q̓ʷala-yak-m-tixʷ	cut-
arrow-your-Prox	Der-fast-hand-you	Der-be no more-hand-MP-you/them	say-
up so fast?" the man said to him.			

s-kʷ-c̓	ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	uɬ-tX	(180)	ti-lx-uɬ-aw-k̓ʷ
he-Quot-Perf	NProx-person-Dist	Prep-him	(180)	secure-Inch-body-they-Usit
			(180)	" They hung up on the

al-a-slip̓nakt-s	wa-stn-c	(181)	ʔaXʷ-i-c̓i-k	ti-ka-yaɬ-
Prep-Prox-branch-its	Prox-tree-Prox	(181)	Neg-Contr-Perf	Prox-Unr-Res-
tree branches.		(181)	There's no way I can get them,"	

ʔay-ak-m-tic   cucut-s-kʷ-c̓   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   ... ta-
do-hand-MP-I/them   say Redp-he-Quot-Perf   NProx-person-Dist ... NProx-
the person, his grandchild, said.

słimc-s-tX   (182) ƛ̓ap-ak-s-kʷ-tu-c̓   t̓aX   s-ka-
grandchild-his-Dist   (182) go-hand-he-Quot-Conf-Perf   that one   Der-Unr-
(182) He began again to make arrows for him.

tam-t̓ksnimta-tus   (183) Xim-s-kʷ-tu-c̓   a-sunxʷ-ac   s-ƛ̓ap-
make-arrow-Che/him   (183) dawn-it-Quot-Conf-Perf   Prox-day-Prox   Der-go-
(183) When day came again he went hunting.

kʷ-tu-c̓   t̓aX   s-ka-ʔa-łXan-m-s   (184) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓
Quot-Conf-Perf   that one   Der-Unr-Res-hunt-MP-he   (184) do-he-Quot-Perf
(184) He was just able

x-tXʷ   s-cxʷy-ak-s   ʔał-tXʷ   s-ka-ip̓-us-m-s
Prep-then   Der-be enough-hand-he   Prep-then   Der-Unr-grab-flat surface-MP-he
to hang on to the arrows then.

ʔuł-ta-t̓ksnimta-tXʷ   (185) ʔał-tam-cāqʷ-lx-a-kʷ-c̓   ʔuł-tX
Prep-NProx-arrow-Dist   (185) Res-make-long-Inch-they-Quot-Perf   Prep-him
(185) They got longer down toward him.

(186) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-c̓   ał-k̓x-im   x-ta-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ   (187) way
(186) Neg-Quot-Perf   Res-see-Pass   Prep-NProx-person-Dist   (187) OK
(186) He was not seen by the people.   (187) OK.

(188) ka-yaya-liwa-timut-nu-ma   cut-s-kʷ-c̓   t̓aX   uł-
(188) Unr-good Redp-Sim-CRefl-you-Dub   say-he-Quot-Perf   that one   Prep-
(188) " Be brave," he said to his mother.

ił-stan-s-ił   (189) wal-cinu   ka-Xim-s   a-sunxʷ-ac
NProx-mother-his-Dist   (189) leave-I/you   Unr-dawn-it   Prox-day-Prox
(189) " I'm going to leave you when day comes," he

cut-s-kʷ-c̓   t̓aX   uł-ił-stan-s-ił   (190) ʔaX-tXʷ
say-he-Quot-Perf   that one   Prep-NProx-mother-his-Dist   (190) Neg-Impv
said to his mother.   (190) " Don't cry

kʷanat-nu	ka-wal-ay-nix-cinu	(191)	ka-ˀaɬ-k̓x-cinu-ma-tū
cry-you	Unr-leave-Aux-LC-I/you	(191)	Unr-Res-see-I/you-Dub-NContr
when I have left you.		(191)	I'll see you wherever I'm going,"

ˀal-a-ka-mnta-c-ˀac	cut-s-kʷ-c̓	ta-qīqtī-tX	ˀuɬ-iɬ-
Prep-Prox-Unr-path-my-Prox	say-he-Quot-Perf	NProx-youth-Dist	Prep-NProx-
the young boy said to his mother.			

stan-s-iɬ	(192)	ˀaɬ-ˀay-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k	x-tXʷ
mother-his-Dist	(192)	Res-do-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf	Prep-then
	(192)	And it happened like that.	

(193)	Xim-kʷ-c̓	(194)	ˀaɬnayx-s-kʷ-c̓	aɬ-tX	ˀūl-a-
(193)	dawn-Quot-Perf	(194)	accompany-she-Quot-Perf	Prep-him	Prep-Prox-
(193)	It dawned.	(194)	She went with him to the place he was going		

ka-tx-amat-ɬɬ-aɬ-s	s-ka-ƛ̓ap-s	(195)	ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓	t̓aX
Unr-from-stay-DP-foot-he	Der-Unr-go-he	(195)	go-he-Quot-Perf	that one
to leave from.		(195)	He began to climb to the	

s-ka-q̓lum-s	ˀūl-a-ka-si-kal-ūs-m-tmaxʷ-aw	ˀn	ta-
Der-Unr-climb-he	Prep-Prox-Unr-Der-meet-face-MP-Recip-they	and	NProx-
place where he and the sun would meet.			

snX-tX	(196)	ˀumat-s-kʷ-c̓	ta-snX-tX	s-ka-nu-q̓ʷp-
sun-Dist	(196)	get to-he-Quot-Perf	NProx-sun-Dist	Der-Unr-agent-go meet-
	(196)	The sun went to meet him then.		

aɬ-is	ˀaɬ-tXʷ	(197)	wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka	tXʷ	s-ti-
foot-he/him	Prep-then	(197)	be then-Quot-Contr-Perf	then	Der-secure-
		(197)	Then the sun stopped there having reached		

lx-uɬ-s	ti-snX-t̓ayx	ˀaɬ-tXʷ	s-c̓kt-s	ˀuɬ-tXʷ	ˀaɬ-
Inch-body-he	Prox-sun-Prox	Prep-then	Der-arrive-he	Prep-there	Prep-
the place where he was.					

ta-amat-s-tXʷ	(198)	ɬalas-kʷ	ti-ˀaci-s	ti-snX-t̓ayx
NProx-stay-he-Dist	(198)	boat-Quot	Prox-vehicle-his	Prox-sun-Prox
	(198)	It's a boat that the sun rides.		

(199) ˀay-s-kʷ-c̓ x-tXʷ s-nmp-ayx-s (200) ƛ̓ap-s-
(199) do-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-put into-LCRes-he (200) go-he-
(199) It happened then that he got in. (200) He started

kʷ-tu-c̓ s-ka-q̓ʷXʷ-m-s ˀał-tXʷ ˀūl-a-ka-si-kł-s-
Quot-Conf-Perf Der-Unr-move-MP-he Prep-then Prep-Prox-Unr-Der-fall-it-
to move again then towards where the sun goes down.

kʷ ta-snX-tX (201) k̓ʷnta-cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-cācti-tX
Quot NProx-sun-Dist (201) decide-Refl-he-Quot-Perf NProx-youth-Dist
(201) The boy had a plan in mind.

(202) ˀanayk-c s-ka-snX-c kaynuxs cut-kʷ-i-c̓i-k t̓aXʷ
(202) want-I Der-Unr-sun-I tomorrow say-Quot-Contr-Perf that one
(202) " I want to be the sun tomorrow," he said.

(203) ˀnc ti-ka-snX kaynuxs (204) ˀaX-ku
(203) I Prox-Unr-sun tomorrow (204) Neg-Supr
(203) " I'm the one who will be the sun tomorrow." (204) " No way," his

cut-s-kʷ-tū ta-man-s-tX ˀuł-tX (205) ˀaX-ku
say-his-Quot-NContr NProx-father-his-Dist Prep-him (205) Neg-Supr
father said to him. (205) " Never.

(206) ka-ˀaXʷ ka-yaya-liwa-nu cucut-m-is-kʷ-c̓
(206) Unr-Neg Unr-good Redp-Sim-you say Redp-Tr-he/him-Quot-Perf
(206) You might not do it right," he said to his son.

(207) ˀnc-tXʷ ti-ka-snX kaynuxs cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-cācti-
(207) be I-Impv Prox-Unr-sun tomorrow say-he-Quot-Perf NProx-youth-
(207) " Let me be the sun tomorrow," the boy said to his father.

tX ˀuł-ta-man-s-tX (208) ˀaXʷ-k̓ʷ-i-lu-k yaXʷ-nimut-
Dist Prep-NProx-father-his-Dist (208) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv agree-LCRefl-
(208) He didn't want him to be it at the

s t̓ayx ˀal-a-ac (209) way (210) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx
he this one Prep-Prox-then (209) OK (210) go-he-Quot-Perf this one
time. (209) OK. (210) Then he began to say it

ʔal-a-ac   s-ka-way-lit-m-is-c̓   (211)   qʷiɬ-āX-uc-
Prep-Prox-then   Der-Unr-OK- say-Tr-he/him-Perf   (211)   prepare-column-edge-
was all right.   (211)   He made him kindling

ak-is-kʷ-c̓   aɬ-tXʷ   ka-s-nu-Xy-ak-s
hand-he/him-Quot-Perf   Prep-then   Unr-Der-agent-bright-hand-he
then for him to use for light.

(212)   yaya-liwa-timut-X   cucut-m-is-kʷ   aɬ-tXʷ
(212)   good Redp-Sim-CRefl-Impr   say Redp-Tr-he/him-Quot   Prep-then
(212)   " Be brave," he said to his son then.

ta-mna-s-tX   (213)   s-nu-Xy-ak-nu   x-t̓ayx
NProx-child-his-Dist   (213)   Der-agent-bright-hand-you   Prep-this one
(213)   " Use this for your light when you first

ka-Xilxus-nu   (214)   ʔūl-a-s-ka-taq̓ʷɬ-lx-ī-nu   s-ka-
Unr-appear-you   (214)   Prep-Prox-Der-Unr-downstream-Inch-Dim-you   Der-Unr-
appear.   (214)   When you get further down you add to it," his father

s-tq̓-āX-uc-ak-m-nu   cucut-s-kʷ-c̓   ta-
Der-thing added-column-edge-hand-MP-you   say Redp-he-Quot-Perf   NProx-
told him.

man-s-tX   ʔuɬ-tX   (215)   ʔūl-a-s-ka-taq̓ʷɬ-lx-ī-
father-his-Dist   Prep-him   (215)   Prep-Prox-Der-Unr-downstream-Inch-Dim-
(215)   " When you get still a little further on

nu-tu-c̓   s-ka-ʔasmūs-āX-uc-ak-am-nu   (216)   ʔūl-a-s-
you-Conf-Perf   Der-Unr-three-column-edge-hand-CD-you   (216)   Prep-Prox-Der-
you add the third one.   (216)   When you get

ka-nu-kal-ik-s   ti-sunxʷ-t̓ayx   s-ka-mūs-āX-uc-
Unr-internal-meet-internal-its   Prox-sky-Prox   Der-Unr-four-column-edge-
to the middle of the sky you add the fourth one.

ak-am-nu   (217)   wix   c   s-ka-mūs-āX-uc-ak-am-nu
hand-CD-you   (217)   be there   Prox   Der-Unr-four-column-edge-hand-CD-you
(217)   That's the place you'll add your fourth light."

x-a-s-nu-Xy-ak-nu-c   (218) ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k
Prep-Prox-Der-agent-bright-hand-you-Prox   (218) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
(218) But the little boy did not

ʔał-ʔay-s   ta-cācti-tX   ʔał-tXʷ   s-ƛ̓ap-s   s-ka-q̓ʷXʷ-m-s
Res-do-he   NProx-youth-Dist   Prep-then   Der-go-he   Der-Unr-move-MP-he
do like that then when he began to move.

(219) sm-łnus-āX-uc-ak-s-kʷ-c̓   t̓aX
(219) from the beginning-two-column-edge-hand-he-Quot-Perf   that one
(219) He already had two lit when the sun came up.

s-Xilxus-s   ta-snX-tX   (220) sm-kʷl-s-kʷ-c̓
Der-arrive-he   NProx-sun-Dist   (220) from the beginning-hot-it-Quot-Perf
(220) The world was already hot then.

wa-sunxʷ-ac   ʔał-tXʷ   (221) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k   taq̓ʷł-
Prox-world-Prox   Prep-then   (221) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf   downstream-
(221) He had not gone far then when he added

lx-ī-s   ʔał-tXʷ   s-s-tq̓-āX-uc-ak-m-s-tu-c̓
Inch-Dim-he   Prep-then   Der-Der-thing added-column-edge-hand-MP-he-Conf-Perf
another.

(222) ʔasmūs-āX-uc-ak-am-s-kʷ-c̓   (223) s-taq̓ʷł-lx-
(222) three-column-edge-hand-CD-he-Quot-Perf   (223) Der-downstream-Inch-
(222) He had three lit now.   (223) A little further on

ī-s-kʷ-tu-c̓   s-s-tq̓-āX-uc-ak-m-s-kʷ-tu-c̓
Dim-he-Quot-Conf-Perf   Der-der-thing added-column-edge-hand-MP-he-Quot-Conf-Perf
again, he added another one.

(224) ʔał-ʔay-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k   t̓ayx   x-tXʷ   ʔał-tXʷ
(224) Res-do-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf   this one   Prep-then   Prep-then
(224) He did like that then until the lights given to him by our father

ʔūl-a-s-q̓ʷala-s   ta-s-nu-Xy-ak-tum-tXʷ
Prep-Prox-Der-be no more-it   NProx-Der-agent-bright-hand-CPass-Dist
were all gone.

x-ti-man-ł-t̓ayx (225) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka tXʷ s-sxʷm-s
Prep-Prox-father-our-Prox (225) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf then Der-burn-it
(225) That's the time the sky burned.

a-sunxʷ-ac (226) sxʷm-s-kʷ-c̓ a-sunxʷ-ac (227) ƛ̓ap-liwa-na-
Prox-sky-Prox (226) burn-it-Quot-Perf Prox-sky-Prox (227) go-Sim-they-
(226) The sky burned. (227) The people

kʷ-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ s-ka-ƛ̓ixƛ̓ikm-aw ˀał-tXʷ ˀał-ta-
Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Der-Unr-run Redp-they Prep-then Prep-NProx-
began to run around on the ground then.

kuł-ulmx-tX (228) ˀixaˀnap-cut-aw ˀūl-a-ka-si-
surface-ground-Dist (228) find one's way-Refl-they Prep-Prox-Unr-Der-
(228) They were looking for a place to hide then.

ipu-wayx-nimut-aw ˀał-tXʷ (229) qc-amk-cut-a-
hide-LCRes-LCRefl-they Prep-then (229) throw into water-Pat-Refl-they-
(229) They tried to jump into the water

kʷ-alu ˀał-ta-qla-tXʷ al-tXʷ (230) wix-ana-kʷ-i-
Quot-Att Prep-NProx-water-Dist Prep-then (230) be they-they-Quot-Contr-
then. (230) They were the ones who

c̓i-k tXʷ wa-at̓ma (231) wa-s-nu-kʷl-s-kʷ ta-qla-tXʷ
Perf they Prox-die (231) Prox-Der-place-hot-it-Quot NProx-water-Dist
died. (231) They say that the water was hot.

(232) ˀay-s-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ ła-ƛ̓msta-ił (233) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-
(232) do-she-Quot-Perf Prep-then NProx-person-Dist (233) go-they-Quot-
(232) This is what the woman did. (233) Her friends

c̓ tu-smatmx-s-tXʷ ˀuł-ˀił s-ka-yul-ūł-a-tis
Perf NProx-friend-her-Dist Prep-her Der-Unr-rub-body-Intr-she/them
went to the woman to have their bodies rubbed.

ˀił-ƛ̓msta-ił (234) ˀał-yulyul-ūł-a-tis-kʷ-c̓
NProx-person-Dist (234) Res-rub Redp-body-Intr-she/them-Quot-Perf
(234) She rubbed their bodies.

(235) ʔaX-kʷ-c̓ łuł-nix-it ti-s-kʷl-s ta-snX-tX
(235) Neg-Quot-Perf perceive-LC-they/it Prox-Der-hot-its NProx-sun-Dist
(235) They were not able to feel the heat of the sun.

(236) cay-na-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k ʔac s-ninic-aw
(236) be all-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf these ones Der-alive Redp-they
(236) These were the only ones alive at the time.

ʔał-tXʷ (237) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ a-sunxʷ-ac s-sxʷm-s
Prep-then (237) do-it-Quot-Perf Prox-sky-Prox Der-burn-it
(237) It happened that the sky burned.

(238) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka tXʷ s-tuin-uł-ūs-s ti-xli-
(238) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf then Der-show-round-front-it Prox-penis-
(238) That was the time the tip of the clam's penis was showing.

s ti-c̓ikʷa-kʷ (239) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka tXʷ s-sk̓x-uł-
its Prox-clam-Quot (239) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf it Der-black-round-
(239) That's why the tip of it is black.

ūs-ī-s-c̓ (240) nu-twi-lnqs-ik-kʷ-i-c̓i-k
front-Dim-it-Perf (240) internal-show-tail-internal-Quot-Contr-Perf
(240) The weasel's tail was sticking out then.

ci-łmk̓mani ʔał-tXʷ (241) Xʷup-cut-s-kʷ-alu ci-łmk̓mani
Prox-weasel Prep-then (241) put into hole-Refl-it-Quot-Att Prox-weasel
(241) The weasel tried to get inside.

(242) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-ka tXʷ si-nu-sk̓x-lqs-nk-s
(242) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf it Der-agent-black-end-tail-it
(242) That's why the tip of its tail is black.

(243) cucut-aw-k̓ʷ taXʷ s-sm̄sma-yūs-tułt ...
(243) say Redp-they-Usit those ones Der-tell story Redp-front-they/us...
(243) The old ones used to tell us this when they told stories.

tu-łlk̓ʷlx-łł-tXʷ (244) lip̓-ayx-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓aXʷ
NProx-old person Redp-DP-Dist (244) return-LÇRes-he-Quot-Perf that one
(244) He finally got back to his father.

ʔūł-ta-man-s-tX (245) ƛ̓ap-ak-m-im-kʷ-c̓ x-ta-
Prep-NProx-father-his-Dist (245) go-hand-MP-Pass-Quot-Perf Prep-NProx-
(245) His father began to spank him.

man-s-tX s-ka-sp̓-nalus-tum (246) ʔanana-yak-ī-nu
father-his-Dist Der-Unr-hit-want-CPass (246) cry of pain-hand-Dim-you
(246) " You have caused pain to

ʔał-ta-s-ƛ̓msta-nalus-ł cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-man-s-tX
Prep-NProx-Der-person-become-Mid say-he-Quot-Perf NProx-father-his-Dist
those human spirits,"his father said.

(247) ƛ̓ap-tum-kʷ-c̓ s-sp̓-nalus-tum x-tX (248) c̓Xmayx-s-
(247) go-CPass-Quot-Perf Der-hit-want-CPass Prep-him (248) true-it-
(247) He was taken to be spanked by him. (248) He really

kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx s-q̓ʷp-m-tus ta-mna-łł-s-tX
Quot-Perf this one Der-form a cloud-MP-Che/him NProx-child-DP-his-Dist
scattered his son like a cloud of dust.

(249) wix-kʷ s-ʔay-tutis ta-s-ƛ̓msta-nalus-tXʷ s-sx-
(249) be it-Quot Der-do-Che/them NProx-Der-person-become-Dist Der-bad-
(249) He did this to the human beings because he was angry at them.

likt-m-tis (250) c̓Xmayx-s-kʷ-c̓ s-q̓ʷp-m-tum
completely-Tr-he/them (250) true-it-Quot-Perf Der-form a cloud-MP-CPass
(250) He was truly scattered by his father.

x-ta-man-s-tX (251) cq̓-is-kʷ-c̓n t̓aX tu-
Prep-NProx-father-his-Dist (251) gather-he/it-Quot-Impf that one NProx-
(251) He gathered his son's bones.

cap-łł-s ta-mna-s-tX (252) ƛ̓ap-tus-kʷ-c̓ s-ka-
bone-DP-his NProx-child-his-Dist (252) go-Che/it-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-
(252) He began to blow them into the

apsw-amk-is ʔul-a-sunxʷ-ac (253) way (254) ka-tix-ma-c̓
blow-Pat-he/it Prep-Prox-sky-Prox (253) OK (254) Unr-he-Dub-Perf
sky. (253) OK. (254) " Maybe he'll be

t̓ayx	ti-ka-pk̓m	ʔal-a-ka-alūX-ał-ił	cut-s-kʷ-c̓
this one	Prox-Unr-mosquito	Prep-Prox-Unr-behind-foot-we	say-he-Quot-Perf

the mosquito(es) to those who come after us," his father said to himself.

ta-man-s-tX	ʔuł-ta-s-cnł-s-tX	(255)	tix-kʷ-
NProx-father-his-Dist	Prep-NProx-Der-himself-he-Dist	(255)	be him-Quot-
		(255)	It's he who

i-c̓i-k	t̓ayx	ti-pk̓m	...	ti-mna-łł-s	ta-snX
Contr-Perf	this one	Prox-mosquito	...	Prox-child-DP-his	NProx-sun

is the mosquito ... the sun's son.

(256) way
(256) OK
(256) OK.

* * * * * *

Sun's Child

A young girl got angry about something and left the village. She had been adopted by a family and was having troubles. She left the village and wandered along the river. She heard someone pounding poles upriver and went to see who it was. In the middle of the river was a man making a fish trap. She wanted to watch so she called out to the man to come and get her. Instead, he took her to his home and fed her. After she had eaten, the man went to start up his work again. While he was away, a woman making floormats in the front of the house called to the girl, saying, "It's no good for you to stay here forever like me. Leave. Take the path." She thought the path to the bush behind the house was clear.

The girl took the woman's advice and ran away. She was just starting to put some distance between herself and the house when the man's waterpot hollered, "Stump! Come quick! Your woman is running away."

Stump came running, caught the girl and took her back to his house. He fed her until she was full. Then he returned to the river to finish making his fishtrap. As soon as he was gone, the woman again came over to the girl and said, "Come here. Look in his toolbox for a drill. When you find one, take it and drill holes all around the rim of his waterpot. Maybe then it won't be able to call out and warn Stump when you try to escape."

The young girl got the drill and drilled the holes around the waterpot's rim as she had been told. When she was done, the woman called her over again and handed her four objects: a comb, some wool, a whetstone, and ... I forget the fourth thing, but there were four of them.

"Okay", said the woman, "you can go. Now listen carefully. When he comes after you, you wait until he is just about to catch you. Then you throw one of these things behind you and you will get away."

The girl started out again. She hadn"t gone far when the waterpot tried to call Stump, but at first all he could say was, "huluhuluhuluhuloo", over and over again. Finally the waterpot began to get his voice back and called out, "Stump! Come quick! Your woman is running away again."

Stump ran after her gaining on her with every step. But just as he was about to catch her, she threw down the comb on the path behind her, just as she had been told. Immediately the comb changed into dense underbrush which Stump kept getting hung up on. The girl got away. Finally Stump worked himself free and started after her again. Again he was just about to catch her when she threw down the second thing. I don't remember what it was but it slowed him down and she got away. When he was just about to catch her for the third time, she threw the wool down on the trail behind her. Immediately, that spot turned into a pond and then into a lake and the lake into an ocean. Stump had to walk around the water's edge and the girl took a big lead. But Stump didn't give up. He kept running after her, gaining with every step until again he was just about to catch her. This time she threw the last thing, the whetstone, on the trail behind her. Immediately, it turned into a mountain. This time, Stump, having learned his lesson, dodged to the side and was not blocked by the mountain. Seeing this, the girl started to climb the mountain, going higher and higher until she came to the house of the sun. She stopped in front of it where she heard a voice saying, "Come here. Come inside if you are the one with troubles."

She opened the door and was hit by a blast of heat. She quickly closed the door. Again the voice said, "Come in. Don't be afraid."

The sun massaged her body and got her to come inside his house where he fed her. She looked around, the house was bare. She squatted down to eat and our Father fed her. Just as she finished eating, Stump showed up. He burst into the house and immediately his hair caught on fire. The sun hadn't massaged him as he had the girl and he was left completely unprotected from the heat. Stump burned to death and the sun cast him away. There was nothing left of Stump but a heap of charcoal. We have someone in the village named after this Stump.

The young girl didn't realize what it was she was doing with the sun and soon she found herself pregnant with sun's child. She gave birth to a boy and named him Kankłī. Kankłī was her first-born.

She began to think of her foster parents. Maybe she was getting homesick for them. The sun heard her thoughts and said, "You may return to your home on earth in the morning. Be brave and walk down to earth on one of my eyelashes." They say that sunbeams are really just the sun's eyelashes.

The girl started out leading her son, Kankłī. "Can I really walk on this sunbeam?" she asked.

"Yes, you can go now. Go ahead." said the sun.

So the girl and her son came down on the sunbeam. They were on the trail behind the house of the foster parents. Her foster mother was inside crying when she heard something behind the house and sent one of her daughters to see who was playing tricks on her. "It's ƛaqamūc," said the little girl upon returning.

"Oh no," her mother said, "you must be teasing me. ƛaqamūc been gone so long she must be dead by now." The woman called on her second daughter to go see who was on the path behind the house. The second daughter returned, saying, "It's true. It's really true. It's ƛaqamūc, and she has a child with her. She told me to put some fresh sand on the floor. She'll come in only when there is sand on the floor."

They went out to fetch some clean sand. They spread it all around as fast as they could. ƛaqamūc came inside while her son, Kankɬī, went out to play with the two girls. The girls pulled him this way and that, rolled him around and teased him. Kankɬī was very serious and tried to explain to them that the sun was his father. "I am called Kankɬī," he would try to tell them.

"Ha," they would reply. "His name is Kankɬī and he has good-looking eyes. He keeps saying that the sun is his father but he is still no good." They kept making fun of him and making him cry.

But Kankɬī grew by leaps and bounds. Everyday he was bigger than the day before. He asked his grandfather to make him some arrows. He asked his grandmother to make him a quiver in which to keep his arrows. When they were finished Kankɬī went out and shot his arrows straight up into they sky. When he had no more arrows he returned to his grandfather and asked him to make him some more.

"What are you doing to your arrows that you use them up so fast?" asked his grandfather.

"They hang up on tree branches," replied Kankɬī. "There is no way I can get them back."

So his grandfather made him more arrows. When they were finished, Kankɬī went out again and shot his arrows straight up in the sky. Now one could see what he was doing. Each arrow head was buried into the feather end of the arrow before it so that they made a thin column of arrows reaching up to the sky. Kankɬī could now reach the last arrow. He went to his mother and said, "Be brave. I'm going to leave you when day comes. Don't cry when I go. Wherever I go you will see me."

When day came they went together to the pole of arrows. He climbed the pole up to the spot where it intercepted the sun's daily trail in the sky. Soon the sun came by riding in a boat. Kankɬī got in the boat and rode with his father for the rest of the journey across the sky. On the way, Kankɬī had an idea. "I want to be the sun tomorrow. I want to guide the sun boat across the sky."

"Certainly not," said his father. "You might not do it right."

"Let me be the sun tomorrow," continued Kankłī until sun finally gave in.

The sun made up bundles of sticks to use for the fire which gives off the sun's light and heat. "Be careful," he said to Kankłī. "Use the first bundle when you first appear in the sky. Just this one bundle, no more. When you are further along add the second bundle and later the third; and when you reach the middle of the sky, then add the fourth and last bundle of sticks to the fire.

But Kankłī didn't listen to his father and by the time the sun came over the horizon he already had two bundles burning and the world was already very hot. He hadn't gone much farther than he added another bundle and soon after that he added the fourth bundle of sticks. By the time he reached the middle of the sky, it was afire. The sky was burning and the people on Earth were running around trying to escape from the terrible heat. They tried to hide but the heat found them. They jumped into the water but were boiled alive. Only Kankłī's mother who had been massaged by the sun did not feel the heat. She called her friends to her to have their bodies massaged. Only these people, the ones who ƛaqamuc massaged, survived. Some of the animals were burnt then too. The old people say that the clam had the head of his penis exposed when the sky caught fire and that's why it is black today. The same thing happened to the weasel's tail. He burrowed into the ground and got all covered except for the tip of his tail which is still black today too.

Kankłī finally got back to his father, who began to beat him roughly, saying, "You have caused pain and death among the human beings." Sun beat Kankłī until he was nothing but a mound of dust. He gathered up the dust and blew it into the sky. "Let him be the mosquitos for those yet to come." he said.

And that is where all the mosquitos come from ... from the son of the sun.

The Girl and the Animal

(1) way (2) ʔalac̓ī-tuc x-ti-sm̄sma-t̓ayx ʔal-a-
(1) OK (2) tell-CI/it Prep-Prox-tell story Redp-Prox Prep-Prox-
(1) OK (2) I'll tell this story about the girls when the

-xixnas-ī-ck s-k̓ʷał-tn-im wa-sunxʷ-ac
-woman Redp-Dim-InfDub Der-form-Inst-Pass Prox-world-Prox
world was created.

(3) ʔiłcay-na-kʷ (4) ƛ̓ap-aw s-ka-łXan-m-aw
(3) pick berries-they-Quot (4) go-they Der-Unr-hunt-MP-they
(3) They were picking berries. (4) They went into the forest

ʔuł-ta-asikāX-tXʷ (5) slaX-aw-ck ał-tXʷ
Prep-NProx-forest-Dist (5) many-they-InfDub Prep-them
hunting. (5) There must have been many of them.

(6) xixnas-ī-naw (7) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ ił-nu-maw-ił
(6) woman Redp-Dim-they (7) go-she-Quot-Usit NProx-human-one-Dist
(6) They were girls. (7) One of the girls began to step on

ʔał-tu-xixnas-ī-tXʷ s-ka-t̓q-m-ał-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ
Prep-NProx-woman-Dim-Dist Der-Unr-sticky-MP-foot-she-Quot-Usit
something sticky in her path as she walked in the forest.

ʔał-tu-mnta-s-tXʷ s-ixix-q̓m-s ʔał-ta-asikāX-tXʷ
Prep-NProx-path-her-Dist Der-Distb Redp-step-she Prep-NProx-forest-Dist

(8) ʔay-s ʔał-tXʷ way s-ʔiłʔiłq̓nła-m-ałł-s ʔał-tXʷ
(8) do-she Prep-then OK Der-angry Redp-MP-throat-she Prep-then
(8) She was swearing angrily then.

(9) t̓q-m-ał-s ał-tXʷ (10) cpałpał-m-
(9) sticky-MP-foot-she Prep-then (10) wipe foot Redp-MP-
(9) She stepped on something sticky then. (10) The girl wiped her

-kʷ-k̓ʷu	ʔiɬ-ƛ̓msta-iɬ	(11)	ƛ̓aap-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu	ʔiɬʔayɬ	s-ka-
-Quot-Usit	NProx-person-Dist	(11)	go-she-Quot-Usit	that one	Der-Unr-
foot off.		(11)	Then she starts off walking.		

-ix-q̓m-s	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	(12)	ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-či-k	ʔiXʷ-am-s
-Distb-step-she	Prep-then	(12)	Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf	far-CD-she
		(12)	She had not gotten far when she	

ʔiɬʔayɬ	s-kal-tmaxʷ-m-is	ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	(13)	ƛ̓msta-kʷ
that one	Der-meet-Recip-Tr-she/him	NProx-person-Dist	(13)	person-Quot
met a man.			(13)	The one

ta-nanmk̓-kʷ-ma-ku-tX	(14)	ʔay-s	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	way
NProx-animal-Quot-Dub-Surp-Dist	(14)	happen-she	Prep-then	OK
people say was an animal was human.	(14)	Then it happened that		

s-ʔaɬ-ʔal-a-cixʷ-ʔul-ks	...	ʔaɬ-al-a-cixʷ-ʔul-ks
Der-Res-Prep-Prox-what- -Ind	...	Res-Prep-Prox-what- -Ind
she was asked by him, "What is it like	...	what is your shit

wa-mnk-nu	cut-m-im-kʷ-č	ʔiɬʔayɬ	x-tX
Prox-shit-your	say-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf	that one	Prep-him
like?"			

(15)	ka-s-cay-uɬ-im-č	s-ʔaɬ-ʔal-a-cixʷ-s	a-mnk-s
(15)	seek-Der- -direction-Pass-Perf	Der-Res-Prep-Prox-it	Prox-shit-her
(15)	She was asked what her shit was like.		

(16)	ʔaa	cut-s-kʷ-tu	ʔiɬʔayɬ	(17)	ʔaɬ-xm-uɬ-mas
(16)	ahh	say-she-Quot-Conf	that one	(17)	Res-broken-round-Abs
(16)	"Ahh," she said.			(17)	"It's always in

ka-s-ʔaps-c	cut-s-kʷ-č	ʔiɬʔayɬ	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	(18)	way
Unr-Der-shit-I	say-she-Quot-Perf	that one	Prep-then	(18)	OK
chunks when I shit," she said then.				(18)	"Well,

ƛ̓a-ki-na	(19)	ʔaps-nu	cut-m-im-kʷ-tu-č
hindrance-go-experience	(19)	shit-you	say-Tr-Pass-Quot-Conf-Perf
go ahead.	(19)	Shit!" she was told again	

ˀiłˀaył   x-tX   (20) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓   ˀiłˀaył   ˀał-tXʷ   s-ka-
that one   Prep-him   (20) go-she-Quot-Perf   that one   Prep-then   Der-Unr-
by him.   (20) She then went a little farther from the

-aps-s   uł-ta-iXʷ-ł̓-tXʷ   ˀał-ta-ˀamat-ał-aw-tXʷ
-shit-she   Prep-NProx-far-Dim-Dist   Prep-NProx-stay-foot-they-Dist
place where they were standing in order to shit.

s-ˀał-iłm-aw   (21) kł-is-kʷ-č̓   ˀiłˀaył   t-ał-
Der-Res-stand-they   (21) drop-she/it-Quot-Perf   that one   NProx-Res-
(21) She dropped the chunks (of wax) that were

-xm-uł-tXʷ   ˀał-ta-tnksta-s-tXʷ   (22) kʷƛ̓-is
-broken-round-Dist   Prep-NProx-ear-her-Dist   (22) place-she/it
in her ears.   (22) She put it

ˀuł-tu-nu-amat-uł-aX-s-tXʷ   s-aps-s
Prep-NProx-place-stay-distributed-bottom-she-Dist   Der-shit-she
at the spot she had squatted to shit.

(23) way   ƛ̓ła-yt   k̓x-ixʷ   cut-s-kʷ-č̓   ˀiłˀaył   ˀuł-tX
(23) OK   go-Exh   see-you/it   say-she-Quot-Perf   that one   Prep-him
(23) "OK, go have a look at it," she said to him.

(24) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-tū   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   s-ka-k̓x-is   ˀał-tXʷ
(24) go-he-Quot-NContr   NProx-person-Dist   Der-Unr-see-he/it   Prep-then
(24) And the man went to have a look at it then.

(25) ˀay-s   ˀał-tXʷ   s-ˀał-lXʷ-is   (26) ˀał-ˀay-kʷ-i-
(25) do-he   Prep-then   Der-Res-examine-he/it   (26) Res-do-Quot-Contr-
(25) What he did then was to examine it.   (26) She was just

-lu-č̓i-k   ˀiłˀaył   x-ac   way   s-ˀanayk-m-im-ma-č̓n-cki
-Expv-Perf   that one   Prep-there   OK   Der-want-Tr-Pass-Dub-Impf-InfDub
standing there as she was apparently desired by him.

x-ł̓aX   (27) ˀūlX-ay-nix-im-lu-č̓   ta-s-lq̓-s-tX
Prep-that one   (27) steal-Aux-LC-Pass-Expv-Perf   NProx-Der-mind-her-Dist
(27) Her mind was finally seduced so that she

s-ka-ay-s   x-tXʷ   s-ka-way-lit-m-is   ta-nanmk̓-kʷ-
Der-Unr-do-she   Prep-then   Der-Unr-OK-say-Tr-she/him   NProx-animal-Quot-
said yes to the one who was really an animal.

-ma-ku-tX   (28)   wix-k̓ʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k   s-cay-liwa-m-im
-Dub-Surp-Dist   (28)   be then-Quot-Contr-Expv-Contr   Der-finish-Sim-Tr-Pass
(28)   Then she was finished with.

ʔiłaył   x-tX   ʔał-tXʷ   (29)   ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓   ł̓aX   s-ka-
that one   Prep-him   Prep-then   (29)   go-he-Quot-Perf   that one   Der-Unr-
(29)   He went and finished with

-cay-liwa-m-im   x-tX   ...ta-nanmk̓-kʷ-tu-ya-ł̓aX
-finish-Sim-Tr-Pass   Prep-him   ...NProx-animal-Quot-Conf-Incomp-Mid
her ...that one who was an animal.

(30)   łm-s-č̓   ʔał-tXʷ   (31)   ka-s-cay-uł-im
(30)   stand up-she-Perf   Prep-then   (31)   seek-Der-   -direction-Pass
(30)   She stood up then.   (31)   She was then questioned

č̓ayx   ʔal-a-ac   x-tX   (32)   ka-ƛ̓ap-nu-wa   ʔał-ʔnc
this one   Prep-Prox-then   Prep-him   (32)   Unr-go-you-question   Prep-me
by him.   (32)   "Will you go with me?"

cut-kʷ-i-č̓i-k   ta-nanmk̓-kʷ-tX   uł-ił   (33)   ʔał-aay-kʷ-
say-Quot-Contr-Perf   NProx-animal-Quot-Dist   Prep-her   (33)   Res-do-Quot-
the animal said to her.   (33)   But she

-i-č̓i-k   ʔiłʔaył   s-ał-k̓x-s   ał-tXʷ   (34)   ʔaa   ka-ƛ̓ap-c-ma
-Contr-Perf   that one   Der-Res-see-she   Prep-then   (34)   ahh   Unr-go-I-Dub
just looked about then.   (34)   "Ahh, maybe

ka-ʔał-k̓x-ic   s-ʔał-ay-s   ka-mnta-nu   cut-s-kʷ-tū
Unr-Res-see-I/it   Der-Res-happen-it   Unr-path-your   say-she-Quot-NContr
I'll go when I see which path you take," she said.

ʔiłʔaył   (35)   way   ƛ̓a-ki-X   (36)   łuč̓-ūł-m-s-kʷ-
that one   (35)   OK   hindrance-go-Impv   (36)   undress-body-MP-he-Quot-
(35)   "OK, come on!"   (36)   He took off his

-tu-č̓	t̓aX	ta-s-nanmk̓-likt-sta-s-tX
-Conf-Perf	that one	NProx-Der-animal-all over-Inst-his-Dist
animal covering again.		

(37)	ƛ̓msta-s-tu-č̓	s-iX-q̓m-aw-č̓	ʔūł-tu-suł-
(37)	person-he-Conf-Perf	Der-Distb-step-they-Perf	Prep-NProx-house-
(37)	He was human again as they walked to his house.		

-s-tXʷ	(38)	ʔus-txʷ-tum	x-tX	ʔał-tXʷ	ʔuł-tu-suł-
-his-Dist	(38)	Dir-inside-CPass	Prep-him	Prep-then	Prep-NProx-house-
	(38)	She was then taken inside his house.			

-s-tXʷ	(39)	ƛ̓ap-ak-s-kʷ	ta-ƛ̓msta-tX	s-ka-kał-
-his-Dist	(39)	go-hand-he-Quot	NProx-person-Dist	Der-Unr-acquire-
	(39)	The man began to make up his bed.		

-k̓ʷps-cut-s	(40)	kał-k̓ʷps-cut-s-kʷ	(41)	ʔay-s-kʷ-
-in order-Refl-he	(40)	acquire-in order-Refl-he-Quot	(41)	do-he-Quot-
	(40)	He made up his bed.	(41)	The

-tu-č̓	ʔił-ƛ̓msta-ył	hmm	(42)	ka-aXc-m-ayx-c-
-Conf-Perf	NProx-person-Dist	hmm	(42)	Unr-go to bed-MP-LCRes-I-
woman went, "Hmm."			(42)	"I wonder if I can get

-a-ma-tu	ʔul-a-ʔaw-s	t̓ayx	nu-cut-ik-
-question-Dub-Conf	Prep-Prox-be near-he	this one	internal-say-internal-
into bed next to him," the woman thought.			

-s-kʷ-č̓	ił-ƛ̓msta-ył	(43)	nu-ʔaxʷsnix-ik-im-kʷ-
-she-Quot-Perf	NProx-person-Dist	(43)	internal-hear-internal-Pass-Quot-
		(43)	Her thoughts were read

-ma-lu-ku-č̓	ił	x-tX	(44)	ʔaw	(45)	ʔaXc-m-ayx-
-Dub-Expv-Surp-Perf	she	Prep-him	(44)	yes	(45)	go to bed-MP-LCRes-
by him.			(44)	"Yes.	(45)	You can get into

-nu-tu	(46)	ʔaXc-m-ayx-nu-tu	al-a-ac
-you-Conf	(46)	go to bed-MP-LCRes-you-Conf	Prep-Prox-here
bed.	(46)	You can get into bed here,"	

cut-kʷ-č̓ t̓aX (47) ʔanu-ɬƛ̓-m-nimut-s-kʷ-č̓
say-Quot-Perf that one (47) Cont-hang up-MP-LCRefl-she-Quot-Perf
he said. (47) She was kind of afraid to get into

c̓ayx s-ka-aXc-m-s (48) ƛ̓ap-tum-kʷ-č̓ ʔiɬʔayɬ
this one Der-Unr-go to bed-MP-she (48) go-CPass-Quot-Perf that one
bed. (48) She began to have her

s-ka-yul-ūɬ-a-t-im x-tX (49) ʔaXc-m-s
Der-Unr-rub-body-Intr-Tr-Pass Prep-him (49) go to bed-MP-she
body rubbed by him. (49) She got into bed.

(50) ʔaXc-m-ayx-s ʔūɬ-ta-sXicta-tXʷ (51) čkaɬkʷ-kʷ
(50) go to bed-MP-LCRes-she Prep-NProx-bed-Dist (51) devil's club-Quot
(50) She got into the bed. (51) His sheets

tu-sīc t̓aX ʔaɬ-tXʷ (52) pāXuɬa-liwa tu-sīc
NProx-sheets that one Prep-then (52) fierce-Sim NProx-sheets
were devil's club. (52) The sheets were dangerous-looking.

(53) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ t̓ayx ʔal-a-ac (54) ka-nu-kal-
(53) go-she-Quot-Perf this one Prep-Prox-then (54) Unr-internal-meet-
(53) He got in then. (54) It's the middle

-ik-s ti-sutk-t̓ayx (55) Xɬaɬ-s-kʷ-č̓ (56) ʔmt-
-internal-it Prox-winter-Prox (55) hungry-she-Quot-Perf (56) get up-
of the winter. (55) She was hungry. (56) The

-s-kʷ-č̓ ta-nanmk̓-tX s-ka-q̓is-uc-im ʔiɬʔayɬ
-he-Quot-Perf NProx-animal-Dist Der-Unr-scorch-mouth-Pass that one
animal got up to cook her some strips of spring salmon.

x-ti-s-ɬq̓ (57) s-ɬq̓-kʷ ta-s-q̓is-uc-im-tX
Prep-Prox-Der-split (57) Der-split-Quot NProx-Der-scorch-mouth-Pass-Dist
(57) What he cooked was strips of spring salmon skin.

(58) wix-kʷ-č̓ wa-uk̓uk̓-ac t̓aX
(58) be it-Quot-Perf Prox-skunk cabbage-Prox that one
(58) It was skunk cabbage.

(59)	ˀuk̓uk̓-kʷ-c̓	ł̓ayx	ta-s-q̓is-uc-t-im-
(59)	skunk cabbage-Quot-Perf	this one	NProx-Der-scorch-mouth-Tr-Pass-
(59)	It was skunk cabbage that he cooked for her.		

-tX	(60)	ˀał-ˀay-nix-is-c̓	x-ti-s-łq̓-tx
-Dist	(60)	Res-do-LC-she/it-Perf	Prep-Prox-Der-split-Prox
	(60)	She thought it was spring salmon skin.	

(61)	ˀał-ˀay-s	x-ti-ˀamłł-c̓n-ck-tx	ˀal-a-k̓x-
(61)	Res-do-it	Prep-Prox-spring salmon-Impf-InfDub-Prox	Prep-Prox-see-
(61)	By the looks of it, maybe it was like spring salmon.		

-ta-s	(62)	ƛ̓ap-uc-tum-kʷ-c̓	ˀiłˀaył	s-ka-ałps-tum
-Inst-its	(62)	go-mouth-CPass-Quot-Perf	that one	Der-Unr-eat-CPass
	(62)	She was made to begin to eat.		

(63)	ˀūl-a-s-cay-uc-aw-tu-c̓	ał-tXʷ	s-ałps-aw
(63)	Prep-Prox-Der-finish-mouth-they-Conf-Perf	Prep-then	Der-eat-they
(63)	As soon as they had finished eating then, they went to bed		

s-ˀaXc-m-aw-tu-c̓	ˀul-a-amł-am-ī-ˀac
Der-go to bed-MP-they-Conf-Perf	Prep-Prox-summer-CD-Dim-Prox
again until it was spring.	

(64)	ˀamł-am-ī	ac	s-ˀmt-a-kʷ-c̓	ł̓aXʷ
(64)	summer-CD-Dim	then	Der-get up-they-Quot-Perf	those ones
(64)	It was early spring then when they got up.			

(65)	ˀaX-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k	łuł-nix-ūs-m-is	ˀił-ƛ̓msta-ył
(65)	Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf	news-LC-front-MP-she/it	NProx-person-Dist
(65)	The woman did not realize that it was already becoming		

s-ˀamł-am-s	ˀał-tXʷ	(66)	ˀixixās-nix-im-kʷ-alu-c̓
Der-summer-CD-it	Prep-then	(66)	search Redp-LC-Pass-Quot-Att-Perf
summer then.		(66)	She had been searched for in

ˀiłˀaył	ˀał-ta-ˀasikāX-tXʷ	(67)	ˀaXʷ	k̓x-im	ˀił-ƛ̓msta-ył
that one	Prep-NProx-forest-Dist	(67)	Neg	see-Pass	NProx-person-Dist
the forest.		(67)	The woman wasn't found.		

(68) ʔay-s-č x-tXʷ way s-lip̓-cut-s-č ał-tXʷ
(68) do-she-Perf Prep-then OK Der-return-Refl-she-Perf Prep-then
(68) What she did then was to return to her parents.

ʔuł-tu-amat-alāXt-s-tXʷ (69) ƛ̓msta-s s-lip̓-cut-s
Prep-NProx-stay-connection-her-Dist (69) person-she Der-return-Refl-she
(69) She was human when she

ʔał-tXʷ (70) ʔuq̓X-is-kʷ-ku-ya-č ʔiłʔaył
Prep-then (70) call-she/him-Quot-Surp-Incomp-Perf that one
returned. (70) Oh yeah, she called her younger brother.

ta-sūXi-s-tX (71) ʔuq̓X-is-kʷ
NProx-younger brother-her-Dist (71) call-she/him-Quot
(71) She called her younger

ta-sūXi-s-tX s-ka-łXan-m-amk-it
NProx-younger brother-her-Dist Der-Unr-hunt-MP-Pat-they/him
brother so that they could go hunt for her husband...

ta-kʷtmc-s-čn-tX ...ta-nanmk̓-tX (72) cix-kʷ-i-
NProx-husband-her-Impf-Dist ...NProx-animal-Dist (72) be she-Quot-Contr-
the animal. (72) She was the

-lu-či-k ʔiłʔaył ci-ʔał-k̓ʷn-us-uł-ūs-ak-t
-Expv-Perf that one Prox-Res-direct-face-direction-front-hand-she/him
one who directed her younger brother to the place he...the animal

ta-sūXi-s-tX ʔūł-ta-amat-aq̓ʷs-kʷ łaX ...
NProx-younger brother-her-Dist Prep-NProx-stay-eye-Quot that one ...
usually slept.

ta-nanmk̓-tX (73) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č łayx ʔal-a-ac
NProx-animal-Dist (73) go-he-Quot-Perf this one Prep-Prox-then
(73) The young man then went and shot him

s-ka-łksn-is-č ta-cācti-tX
Der-Unr-shoot with an arrow-he/him-Perf NProx-young person-Dist
with an arrow.

(74) ʔat̓ma-s (75) ƛ̓ap-tus-kʷ-č̓ ičʔaył s-ka-us-qa-
(74) die-he (75) go-Cshe/it-Quot-Perf that one Der-Unr-Dir-outside-
(74) He died. (75) She had him taken outside the place where he

-tus t̓aX ʔał-ta-amat-s-tXʷ (76) ʔus-qa-tus-
-Cshe/him that one Prep-NProx-stay-he-Dist (76) Dir-outside-Cshe/him-
stayed. (76) She had him taken

-č̓ (77) ƛ̓ap-ak-m-it ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-ʔistux-it
-Perf (77) go-hand-MP-they/him Prep-then Der-Unr-skin-they/him
outside. (77) They started to skin him then.

(78) ʔistux-it-kʷ-č̓n ʔac (79) ʔay-uc-kʷ-č̓
(78) skin-they/him-Quot-Impf these ones (79) do-mouth-Quot-Perf
(78) They were skinning him. (79) The woman

ił-ƛ̓msta-ył ʔūł-ta-sūXi-s-tX s-ʔaXʷ
NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-younger brother-her-Dist Der-Neg
told her younger brother not to pull off the pelt from the

ka-ks-is ta-st̓uin-tX ʔał-ta-kuł-
Unr-take away-he/it NProx-skin with fur on-Dist Prep-NProx-surface-
wrists and to put away safely his hands and feet with the

-āX-ak-s-tXʷ s-ka-ti-tus tu-suxa-s-tXʷ
-behind-hand-his-Dist Der-Unr-secure-Che/it NProx-hand-his-Dist
pelt.

tu-ixa-s-tū-tXʷ (80) ʔał-ʔay-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k
NProx-foot-his-NContr-Dist (80) Res-do-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
(80) The young man then did

ta-cācti-tX s-ti-tus ʔał-tXʷ tu-suxa-tXʷ
NProx-young person-Dist Der-secure-Che/it Prep-then NProx-hand-Dist
as he was expected and put the hands away safely.

(81) ʔał-ʔay-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k tX way s-ƛ̓ap-s ʔiłʔaył
(81) Res-do-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf it OK Der-go-she that one
(81) It was like that when she went to put it on a frame to

s-ka-tpik-is ʔał-tXʷ (82) ʔał-Xapat-is-kʷ-
Der-Unr-stretch on a frame-she/it Prep-then (82) Res-pack-she/it-Quot-
stretch it. (82) She packed it

-č̓ ił-ƛ̓msta-ył ʔuł-tu-kuł-āX-s tu-suł-
-Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-surface-rear-its NProx-house-
to the rear of their house.

-aw-tXʷ (83) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ iłʔaył s-ka-tpik-
-their-Dist (83) go-she-Quot-Perf that one Der-Unr-stretch on a frame-
(83) She started to stretch it on a frame.

-is (84) cnł-ak-m-is-tu-č̓ s-tpik-
-she/it (84) be herself-hand-MP-she/it-Conf-Perf Der-stretch on a
(84) It was she herself who stretched the animal on the

-is ta-nanmk̓-tX (85) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ iłʔaył
frame-she/it NProx-animal-Dist (85) go-she-Quot-Perf that one
frame. (85) She went to call her

s-uq̓X-is ʔił-sūXi-s-ił s-kulkult-tum
Der-call-she/her NProx-younger sister-her-NProx Der-borrow Redp-CPass
younger sister in order to borrow some awls to use on what she

x-a-ƛ̓akʷani ka-si-ay-ak-tus ta-ał-tpik-s-
Prep-Prox-awl Unr-Der-do-hand-Cshe/it NProx-Res-stretch on a frame-her-
had stretched on the frame in order to fix it.

-tX s-ka-ks-tus (86) ƛ̓ap-liwa-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ ił-căctī-
-Dist Der-Unr-fix-Cshe/it (86) go-Sim-she-Quot-Usit NProx-young person-
(86) The young woman then went around

-ł s-kulkult-s x-a-ƛ̓akʷani ʔał-tXʷ uł-tu-xnas-
-Dist Der-borrow Redp-she Prep-Prox-awl Prep-then Prep-NProx-woman-
borrowing awls from the women.

-uks-tXʷ (87) XʷuXʷp-āX-alic-m-kʷ-ma-ku-
-Pl-Dist (87) put into a hole Redp-distributed-tooth-MP-Quot-Dub-Surp-
(87) She put the awls in between her teeth.

-č̓ ił tu-ƛ̓akʷani-łł-tXʷ (88) XʷuXʷp-āX-
-Perf she NProx-awl-DP-Dist (88) put into a hole Redp-distributed-
(88) She put them between her teeth

-alic-m-s ʔał-tXʷ (89) łč̓anxʷ-liwa-t-is-č̓n-ck
-tooth-MP-she Prep-then (89) catch-Sim-Tr-she/her-Impf-InfDub
then. (89) The young girl caught their older

ʔił-cācti̅-ł ʔił-q̓ʷalm-aw-ił (90) ʔič̓ama-m-
NProx-young person-Dist NProx-older sister-their-Dist (90) blanket-Tr-
sister in the act of doing that. (90) She had

-is-kʷ-č̓ ił ʔaył ta-nanmk̓-tX (91) nanmk̓-k̓ʷ-i-
-she/it-Quot-Perf that one NProx-animal-Dist (91) animal-Quot-Contr-
put on the hide of the animal. (91) She then went

-lu-č̓i-k ʔiłʔaył s-ix-q̓m-s ʔał-tXʷ (92) ʔay-s
-Expv-Perf that one Der-Distb-step-she Prep-then (92) do-she
about as an animal. (92) What the

ʔał-tXʷ s-ał-ipu-cut-liwa-s ʔał-ił (93) ʔał-lXʷ-is
Prep-then Der-Res-hide-Refl-Sim-she Prep-her (93) Res-watch-she/her
younger sister did was to hide away from her. (93) She watched her

ʔał-tXʷ (94) lip̓-cut-tu-č̓ ʔił-ƛ̓msta-ył ʔał-ta-amat-
Prep-then (94) return-Refl-Conf-Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-stay-
then. (94) The woman came back again to the place she was

-s-tXʷ (95) łuč̓-ūł-m-kʷ-su-č̓ ił (96) tu-wayx-ī-
-she-Dist (95) undress-body-MP-Quot-Expb-Perf she (96) NProx-be a time-Dim-
staying. (95) She undressed again. (96) In a little while

-kʷ tXʷ s-tuin-m-timut-s ʔił-suXi-s-ił
-Quot then Der-show-MP-CRefl-she NProx-younger sister-her-Dist
her younger sister came out of hiding.

(97) ʔay-s ʔał-tXʷ (98) ʔaXʷ ti-ka-s-lq̓-lx-s
(97) do-she Prep-then (98) Neg Prox-Unr-Der-mind-Inch-she
(97) She did it then. (98) The young girl could not figure

ˀił-cācti-ł   (99) ˀalac̓ī-tus-kʷ-c̓   iłˀaył
NProx-young person-Dist   (99) tell-Cshe/him-Quot-Perf that one
it out.   (99) She told her older brother what

ta-q̓ʷalm-s-tX   s-ˀał-ˀay-s   x-tXʷ   ił-ƛ̓msta-ył
NProx-older brother-her-Dist Der-Res-do-she Prep-then Nprox-person-Dist
the woman had done, that she had turned into an animal.

s-nanmk̓-anm-s   (100) ˀay-s   ˀał-tXʷ   (101) Xim-s-kʷ-tu-
Der-animal-LCDev-she   (100) do-she   Prep-then   (101) dawn-it-Quot-Cont-
                        (100) She did it then.   (101) Day came again.

-c̓   a-sunxʷ-ac   (102) ƛ̓ap-kʷ-c̓   iłˀaył   way   s-ka-nu-
-Perf Prox-day-Prox   (102) go-she-Quot-Perf   that one OK   Der-Unr-agent-
                        (102) She started going about biting off the

-XmXm-ik-īqʷ-is   ta-sta-apsuł-s-tX
-bite Redp-top surface-head-she/it   NProx-co-village-her-Dist
heads of those living in the village with her.

(103) nu-XmXm-ik-īqʷ-tis-kʷ-c̓   (104) nanmk̓-
(103) agent-bite Redp-top surface-head-she/them-Quot-Perf   (104) animal-
(103) She bit off their heads.   (104) She was

-s-c̓   (105) ˀaay nu-maw-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k   ˀił-sūXi-
-she-Perf   (105) aay   human-one-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf   NProx-younger
an animal.   (105) Aay, her younger sister was the only person she

-s-ił   s-ˀaXʷ   al-a-cixʷ-tus   (106) txuł-aaylikt-s
sister-her-Dist   Der-Neg   Prep-Prox-what-Cshe/her   (106) toward-long-she
did not do that to.   (106) As long as she

s-ˀał-ˀay-s   x-ac   s-ˀałi-s   ˀał-ta-suł-tX
Der-Res-do-she   Prep-then   Der-be in a location-she   Prep-NProx-house-Dist
was like this, she was in the village...she and her younger sister.

...ˀn   ˀił-sūXi-s-ił   (107) ˀa-łXan-m-kʷ-ku-ks
...and   NProx-younger sister-her-Dist   (107) Res-hunt-MP-Quot-Surp-Ind
                                           (107) Her older brother had

ta-q̓ʷalm-s-tX (108) ʔa-łXan-m-kʷ (109) kup̓-
NProx-older brother-her-Dist (108) Res-hunt-MP-Quot (109) stalk-
gone hunting. (108) He had gone hunting. (109) She

-lx-im-kʷ-i-č̓i-k ʔiłʔaył x-tX x-ta-cācti̅-
-Inch-Pass-Quot-Contr-Perf that one Prep-him Prep-NProx-young person-
was being stalked by him, by the young man.

-tX (110) tq̓ʷ-m-s-kʷ-č̓ ił-cācti̅-ł
-Dist (110) dig up-MP-she-Quot-Perf NProx-young person-Dist
(110) The young girl had dug herself some roots.

(111) Xłał-s-kʷ-č̓-tū iłʔaył ʔał-tXʷ (112) ʔał-kʷn-
(111) hungry-she-Quot-Perf-NContr that one Prep-then (112) Res-bring-
(111) She was hungry then. (112) The

-is-kʷ-č̓ ta-cācti̅-tX ʔił-taqʷs-ił ʔūł-ʔił
-he/it-Quot-Perf NProx-young person-Dist NProx-grouse-Dist Prep-her
young man brought a grouse for her.

(113) nunu-s-č̓k-mx-liwa-timut-X cut-kʷ-č̓
(113) agent Redp-Der-shape-one who-Sim-CRefl-Impv say-Quot-Perf
(113) "Make sure you do everything correctly," the young man

ta-cācti̅-tX ʔūł-ił-sūXi-s-ił
NProx-young person-Dist Prep-NProx-younger sister-his-Dist
said to his younger sister.

(114) ʔay-uc-nu s-ka-ikʷł-ixʷ ƛ̓aw-tx
(114) do-mouth-you Der-Unr-throw underhanded-you/it this-Prox
(114) "Say that you speared this with your spade if she

ʔał-ti-nanitkʷ-nu-tx ka-ka-s-cay-uł-ct x-cx
Prep-Prox-spade-your-Prox Unr-seek-Der- -direction-she/you Prep-her
asks you," he said to his younger sister.

cut-s-kʷ-č̓ ƛ̓aX ʔūł-ił-sūXi-s-ił
say-he-Quot-Perf that one Prep-NProx-younger sister-his-Dist

(115)	ʔał-ʔay-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k	ił-cāctī-ł	(116)	ʔus-
(115)	Res-do-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf	NProx-young person-Dist	(116)	Dir-
(115)	The young woman did as she was told.		(116)	She

-txʷ-ayx-s	s-č̓us-m-s	(117)	q̓lst-ī-s-kʷ-k̓ʷ	ił
-inside-LCRes-she	Der-dark-MP-it	(117)	steam-Dim-she-Quot-Usit	she
went inside when it got dark.		(117)	She was steaming what she	

ʔał-tu-ʔał-tq̓ʷ-s-tXʷ	(118)	ʔay-s-č̓	ał-tXʷ
Prep-NProx-Res-dig up roots-she-Dist	(118)	do-she-Perf	Prep-then
had dug up.	(118)	She happened to be	

s-ka-s-cay-ūł-im	stam-s	a-si-puƛ̓-ay-nix-is
Der-seek-Der- -direction-Pass	what-it	Prox-Der-come-Aux-LC-she/it
asked then how it was that she caught the grouse.		

ʔił-taqʷs-ił	(119)	ʔay-uc-kʷ-tū	ił-cāctī-ł
NProx-grouse-Dist	(119)	do-mouth-Quot-NContr	NProx-young person-Dist
	(119)	The young woman spoke as she sat on the	

s-mt-ī-s	ʔal-a-kuł-ulmx	ał-tXʷ	(120)	ʔikʷł-
Der-sit-Dim-she	Prep-Prox-surface-earth	Prep-there	(120)	throw
ground there.			(120)	She

-is	x-ta-nanitkʷ-s-tX	si-ał̓ma-nix-is	ʔał-tXʷ
underhanded-she/it	Prep-NProx-spade-her-Dist	Der-die-LC-she/it	Prep-then
killed it by spearing it with her spade.			

(121)	kūkʷ-uc-m-ī-s-kʷ-č̓-tū	ił-cāctī-ł
(121)	cook-mouth-MP-Dim-she-Quot-Perf-NContr	NProx-young person-Dist
(121)	The young woman cooked herself some thing to eat.	

(122)	way	(123)	yaya-liwa-timut-X	cut-s-kʷ-tu-č̓n
(122)	OK	(123)	good Redp-Sim-CRefl-Impv	say-she-Quot-Conf-Impf
(122)	OK.	(123)	"Good luck," she said to her.	

uł-ił	(124)	Xim-s	(125)	k̓x-is-tu-č̓
Prep-her	(124)	dawn-it	(125)	see-she/her-Conf-Perf
	(124)	It broke day.	(125)	She saw her

ał-ta-as-qa-tXʷ   (126)   nu-kaw-uc-is-kʷ-k̓ʷ
Prep-NProx-Loc-outside-Dist   (126)   agent-carry-mouth-she/it-Quot-Usit
again outside.   (126)   She brought her food.

(127)   ʔay-ał-s   ʔuł-ta-as-qa-tXʷ   (128)   nu-kaw-uc-
(127)   do-foot-she   Prep-NProx-Loc-outside-Dist   (128)   agent-carry-mouth-
(127)   She went outside.   (128)   She took her

-is   x-a-ciccip-łł-ī   (129)   ʔał-ʔal-a-cixʷ-liwa-ʔi-lū-k
-she/her   Prep-Prox-bird-DP-Dim   (129)   Res-Prep-Prox-what-Sim-Contr-Expv
birds to eat.   (129)   "What is she like when it

č̓aw-cx   s-č̓us-m-s-č̓   (130)   stam-ilū-ks   a-č̓kta-s
this one-Prox   Der-dark-MP-it-Perf   (130)   what-Expv-Ind   Prox-do-she
gets dark?   (130)   What does she do?" he

cut-kʷ   (131)   ʔaa   ʔīXʷ-tuł-mas   (132)   ʔīXʷ-tuł-mas
say-Quot   (131)   ahh   burn-Cwe/it-Abs   (132)   burn-Cwe/it-Abs
said.   (131)   "Ahh, we always burn them.   (132)   We always burn

a-s-cap-uc-łł-ił-c   (133)   wix-m-i-s-č̓i-k
Prox-Der-bone-mouth-DP-our-Prox   (133)   be then-Dub-Contr-Expb-Perf
the bones left over from our meals.   (133)   This is when she writes

ac   s-ka-nu-qʷułqʷł-āk-m-s-č̓   (134)   ka-ʔał-ʔay-ak-
this   Der-Unr-agent-write Redp-hand-MP-she-Perf   (134)   Unr-Res-do-hand-
on her hands.   (134)   She puts her

-s-č̓   x-ac   ʔul-a-nīXʷ-c   (135)   ʔał-ʔay-tus   ti-suxa-
-she-Perf   Prep-now   Prep-Prox-fire-Prox   (135)   Res-do-Cshe/it   Prox-hand-
hand into the fire.   (135)   She does her hand like

-s-tx   ʔul-a-nīXʷ-c   x-ac   (136)   nu-qʷułqʷł-āk-m-
-her-Prox   Prep-Prox-fire-Prox   Prep-now   (136)   agent-write Redp-hand-MP-
that to the fire.   (136)   She writes on her

-s-č̓   x-a-s-qʷay-łł-s   a-cap-c
-she-Perf   Prep-Prox-Der-black part of burnt wood-DP-its   Prox-bone-Prox
hands with the ashes of the bones," she said.

cut-s-kʷ-č	(137)	ʔał-ay-ak-ī-m-i-su-či-k-tū
say-she-Quot-Perf	(137)	Res-do-hand-Sim-I-Dub-Contr-Expb-Perf-NContr
	(137)	"And I do my hands just as she does,"

x-cx	cucut-s-kʷ-č	ił-cāctī-ł	ʔuł-ta-
Prep-her	say Redp-she-Quot-Perf	NProx-young person-Dist	Prep-NProx-
the young woman told her older brother.			

-q̓ʷalm-s-tX	(138)	way	(139)	yaya-liwa-timut-X
-older brother-her-Dist	(138)	OK	(139)	good Redp-Sim-CRefl-Impv
	(138)	"OK.	(139)	Good luck!

(140)	kamał-čus-m-s	s-ka-ƛ̓ap-c	s-ka-k̓up-lx-ic	cut-s-
(140)	when-dark-MP-it	Der-Unr-go-I	Der-Unr-stalk-Inch-I/her	say-he-
(140)	When it gets dark, I'll go stalk her," he said.			

-kʷ-čn	łaX	(141)	ʔał-Xam-nimut-s	ʔał-tXʷ
-Quot-Impf	that one	(141)	Res-hurt feelings-LCRefl-he	Prep-then
		(141)	His feelings were hurt by her doing	

s-ʔay-tutis	ta-sta-apsuł-aw-tXʷ	(142)	nu-XmXm-
Der-do-Cshe/them	NProx-co-village-their-Dist	(142)	agent-bite Redp-
that to the ones they lived with in the village.		(142)	She bit

-ik-īqʷ-tis	(143)	ʔay-tus-kʷ-tu-tu-ku
-top surface-head-she/them	(143)	do-Cshe/it-Quot-Conf-Conf-Surp
their heads off.	(143)	That's just what she had done

ał-tXʷ	(144)	ʔał-ʔay-ak-s-kʷ	ał-tXʷ	ił-ƛ̓msta-ił
Prep-then	(144)	Res-do-hand-she-Quot	Prep-then	NProx-person-Dist
then.	(144)	The woman was writing on her hand then.		

s-nu-qʷułqʷł-āk-m-s	(145)	ƛ̓ap-tus-kʷ-č	łaX
Der-agent-write Redp-hand-MP-she	(145)	go-Che/it-Quot-Perf	that one
	(145)	The young man shot arrows	

s-ka-nu-łksnsn-āk-is	ta-cāctī-tX
Der-Unr-agent-shoot with an arrow Redp-hand-he/her	NProx-young person-Dist
into the palms of her hands.	

(146) ʔat̓ma-s-kʷ ʔiɬʔayɬ ʔaɬ-tXʷ (147) ʔat̓ma-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ
(146) die-she-Quot that one Prep-then (147) die-she Prep-then
(146) She died then. (147) She died then.

(148) ƛ̓ap-tus s-ka-tx-alus-tus ʔaɬ-tXʷ (149) tm-tx-
(148) go-Che/it Der-Unr-cut-piece-Che/her Prep-then (149) just-cut-
(148) He then began to cut her into pieces. (149) He just

-alus-ɬ-tus ʔaɬ-tXʷ (150) kʷƛ̓-is ʔaɬ-tXʷ ʔuɬ-ta-
-piece-Mid-Che/her Prep-then (150) put-he/her Prep-then Prep-NProx-
cut her into pieces then. (150) Then he put her inside their

-as-txʷ-aw-tXʷ (151) Xim-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ a-sunxʷ-ac
-Loc-inside-their-Dist (151) dawn-it Prep-then Prox-day-Prox
house. (151) Daylight came.

(152) yaya-liwa-timut-X (153) ʔixix-q̓m-ɬ x-ac
(152) good Redp-Sim-CRefl-Impv (153) Distb Redp-step-we Prep-now
(152) "Be brave. (153) We will go now wherever

ʔul-a-kạ-umat-aɬ-iɬ ka-ix-q̓m-ɬ cut-kʷ (154) q̓ɬkʷ-
Prep-Prox-Unr-get to-foot-we Unr-Distb-step-we say-Quot (154) dress-
our feet take us," he said. (154) The

-cut-s iɬ-cācti̅-ɬ x-ta-q̓ɬkʷ-ta-s-tXʷ
-Refl-she NProx-young person-Dist Prep-NProx-clothing-Inst-her-Dist
young woman put on her clothes.

(155) nax-liwa-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-Xim-s a-sunxʷ-ac (156) ƛ̓ap-
(155) ready-Sim-she Prep-then Der-dawn-it Prox-day-Prox (156) go-
(155) She was ready then when it got daylight. (156) They

-aw s-ka-cikʷ-aɬ-m-aw (157) cikʷ-aɬ-m-a-kʷ-č̓
-they Der-Unr-start-foot-MP-they (157) start-foot-MP-they-Quot-Perf
set off on foot. (157) They started walking.

ɬaXʷ (158) ʔay-s ʔay-s wa-mnta-naw ʔaɬ-ta-asikāX-tXʷ
those ones (158) do-it do-it Prox-path-their Prep-NProx-forest-Dist
(158) Their path wandered about in the forest.

(159)	ˀaXʷ	ˀaɬnap-it	ka-umat-aɬ-aw	(160)	ˀay-naw-č̓
(159)	Neg	know-they/it	Unr-get to-foot-they	(160)	do-they-Perf
(159)	They did not know where to go.			(160)	Then they

x-tXʷ	s-kal-aɬ-m-it	ŧ̓aXʷ	way	(161)	nuƛ̓l-
Prep-then	Der-meet-foot-MP-they/it	those ones	OK	(161)	canyon-
happened to find a way, OK.				(161)	It was a

-kʷ	(162)	nuƛ̓l-kʷ	tu-umat-aɬ-aw-tXʷ	(163)	may
-Quot	(162)	canyon-Quot	NProx-get to-foot-they-Dist	(163)	well
canyon.	(162)	The place they got to was a canyon.		(163)	Well,

ta-cāctī-tX	(164)	ˀaXʷ	aɬnap-is	s-ka-stam-s
NProx-young person-Dist	(164)	Neg	know-he/it	Der-Unr-what-it
it was the young man.	(164)	He did not know what to do in		

s-ka-č̓kta-s	s-ka-si-Xlq̓-āX-uc-ayx-aw	ˀaɬ-tXʷ
Der-Unr-do-he	Der-Unr-Der-turn 180°-behind-edge-LCRes-they	Prep-then
order to get to the other side then.		

(165)	ˀu-sq̓ʷ-a-nay-nix-ɬ-ic-ma	ŧ̓aXʷ	(166)	ˀīXʷ-suɬ-
(165)	Dir-fly-Intr-Aux-LC-Mid-I/it-Dub	those ones	(166)	burn-start-
(165)	I must have skipped something.		(166)	Oh yeah,

-tut-kʷ-k̓ʷu-ya-č̓	ŧ̓aXʷ	tu-suɬ-tXʷ
-Cthey/it-Quot-Usit-Incomp-Perf	those ones	NProx-house-Dist
they started a fire in the house.		

(167)	ŧ̓cūɬ-it-kʷ-alu	iɬˀayɬ	(168)	nic-m-s-kʷ-
(167)	set on fire-they/her-Quot-Att	that one	(168)	live-MP-she-Quot-
(167)	They tried to set her on fire.		(168)	The woman must

-ma-tu-č̓	iɬ-ƛ̓msta-iɬ	ˀaɬ-tXʷ	(169)	ˀaa
-Dub-Conf-Perf	NProx-person-Dist	Prep-then	(169)	ahh
have come to life again.			(169)	Ahh,

ɬukʷala-yamk-is-kʷ-tu-č̓	ŧ̓aX	ti-stitq̓-
power come to one-Pat-he/it-Quot-Conf-Perf	that one	Prox-leather rope-
he was fortunate enough to get a leather rope so that he will be		

-tum s-ka-si-k̓ʷaɬ-liwa-m-is ˀal-a-ka-mnta-s
-CPass Der-Unr-Der-protected-Sim-Tr-he/it Prep-Prox-Unr-path-his
safe wherever he goes.

(170) ˀay-s ˀay-s s-ka-č̓kta-s ˀaɬ-tX (171) ƛ̓ap-tus-kʷ-č̓
(170) do-he do-he Der-Unr-do-he Prep-it (171) go-Che/it-Quot-Perf
(170) He can do anything with it. (171) He went and threw

s-ka-tay-amk-uɬ-ūs-is ta-stitq̓-tX
Der-Unr-throw-Pat-direction-flat surface-he/it NProx-leather rope-Dist
the end of the rope.

(172) tpi-āX-uc-am ˀaɬ-tu-nuƛ̓l ta-amat-aɬ-aw-
(172) opposite-behind-edge-CD Prep-NProx-canyon NProx-stay-foot-they-
(172) It reached the other side of the canyon where they were.

-tXʷ (173) ˀay-kʷ-tu-ya t̓aX s-ka-ip̓-uɬ-
-Dist (173) do-Quot-Conf-Incomp that one Der-Unr-grab-direction-
(173) It so happened then that the end of it was grabbed.

-ūs-im ˀaɬ-tXʷ (174) tix-kʷ-i-č̓i-k t̓ayx
-flat surface-Pass Prep-then (174) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf this one
(174) This was what it was they

ti-kʷn-ik-it-č̓n ˀac (175) Xlq̓-
Prox-walk-long horizontal axis-they/it-Impf these ones (175) turn 180°-
walked on. (175) They

-āX-uc-ˀaɬ-ayx-aw ˀaɬ-tu-mnta-naw-tXʷ (176) ˀay-s
-behind-edge-foot-LCRes-they Prep-NProx-path-their-Dist (176) do-it
made it across on their path. (176) That's

x-tXʷ s-Xlq̓-āX-uc-ˀaɬ-ayx-aw (177) Xilxus-tu-
Prep-then Der-turn 180°-behind-edge-foot-LCRes-they (177) appear-Conf-
the way they got across. (177) The animal

-č̓ ˀiɬ-nanmk̓-iɬ (178) nanmk̓-kʷ-lu-č̓ č̓ayx
-Perf NProx-animal-Dist (178) animal-Quot-Expv-Perf this one
appeared again. (178) She was aⁿ animal then.

(179) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ iłʔaył s-ka-ʔix-ʔaxʷs-s ʔał-tXʷ
(179) go-she-Quot-Perf that one Der-Unr-Distb-holler-she Prep-then
(179) She began to holler then.

(180) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-su-č̓ ac s-ka-wal-it ʔiłʔaył
(180) go-they-Quot-Expb-Perf these ones Der-Unr-leave-they/her that one
(180) They started to go away from her again.

(181) ʔix-axʷs-s-kʷ-alu-č̓ ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-ka-s-cay-
(181) Distb-holler-she-Quot-Att-Perf Prep-then Der-Unr-seek-Der-
(181) She was hollering then asking them what path it was that they

-uł-tim stam-s a-mnta-naw ʔał-tXʷ (182) tpi-
-direction-Pass what-it Prox-path-their Prep-there (182) opposite-
used there. (182) They

-āX-uc-amn-aw ʔał-ta-mnta-naw-tXʷ (183) ƛ̓ap-aw-tu-
-behind-edge-LCDev-they Prep-NProx-path-their-Dist (183) go-they-Conf-
had managed to cross on their path. (183) They began

-č̓ s-ka-ix-q̓m-aw ʔał-tXʷ (184) ʔiXʷ-amn-aw s-
-Perf Der-Unr-Distb-step-they Prep-then (184) far-LCDev-they Der-
to walk again. (184) They had walked far

-ix-q̓m-aw ʔał-tXʷ s-Xilxus-a-kʷ t̓aXʷ
-Distb-step-they Prep-then Der-appear-they-Quot those ones
when they reached an open area.

(185) ʔaxʷsnix-it-kʷ t̓aXʷ ti-nunu-łxʷ-uc-m
(185) hear-they/it-Quot those ones Prox-agent Redp-carry on-mouth-MP
(185) They heard someone making a noise with his mouth...someone

...ti-nunu-łxʷ-uc-m (186) ƛ̓ap-aw-č̓ s-ka-tł-
...Prox-agent Redp-carry on-mouth-MP (186) go-they-Perf Der-Unr-strong-
making a noise. (186) They started to walk

-lx-uł-timut-aw s-ka-ixix-q̓m-aw ʔuł-ta-amat-
-Inch-direction-CRefl-they Der-Unr-Distb Redp-step-they Prep-NProx-stay-
faster towards where they thought the one making the noise was.

-uc-nix-it ta-nunu-lxʷ-uc-m-tXʷ (187) ʔaɬ-ʔay-
-mouth-LC-they/it NProx-agent Redp-carry on-mouth-MP-Dist (187) Res-do-
(187) And so

-kʷ-tu-ya ti-ʔapsuɬ ʔaɬ-tu-tpi-āx-uc tu-
-Quot-Conf-Incomp Prox-village Prep-NProx-opposite-behind-edge NProx-
there was a village opposite the place they had come out into the

-si-Xilxus-aw-tXʷ (188) ƛ̓ap-uc-a-kʷ s-ka-ix-axʷs-aw
-Der-appear-they-Dist (188) go-mouth-they-Quot Der-Unr-Distb-holler-they
open. (188) They then began for someone to come

aɬ-tXʷ s-ka-kʷn-tim (189) ʔix-axʷs-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
Prep-then Der-Unr-bring-Pass (189) Distb-holler-he NProx-person-Dist
fetch them. (189) The man hollered so that they

s-ka-kʷn-tim ʔaɬ-tXʷ (190) kʷn-tim-kʷ-tū tXʷ
Der-Unr-bring-Pass Prep-then (190) bring-Pass-Quot-NContr they
would be brought over. (190) And they were fetched then.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (191) ʔay-uc-s-kʷ tX ʔuɬ-tXʷ s-ka-s-cay-
Prep-then (191) do-mouth-he-Quot he Prep-them Der-seek-Der-
(191) He spoke to them and asked what they were

-uɬ-tim-kʷ-č̓ ac stam-s a-č̓kta-naw
-direction-Pass-Quot-Perf these ones what-it Prox-do-they
doing.

(192) ʔalač̓ī-tut-kʷ-č̓ ta-kʷn-tan-tX (193) ʔix-
(192) tell-Cthey/him-Quot-Perf NProx-bring-he/them-Dist (193) Distb-
(192) They told the one who had fetched them. (193) They

-ɬXʷmXʷm-aw ʔaɬ-ci-nanmk̓-am ... ci-q̓ʷalm-aw
-flee MP Redp-they Prep-Prox-animal-CD ... Prox-older sister-their
were running away from a woman who had become an animal ... their older

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (194) kʷn-tim ʔaɬ-tXʷ (195) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓
Prep-then (194) bring-Pass Prep-then (195) go-they-Quot-Perf
sister. (194) They were taken then. (195) They went and

ʔac   s-ka-us-txʷ-tutim   ʔał-tXʷ   ał-tu-suł-tXʷ
these ones   Der-Unr-Dir-inside-CPass   Prep-then   Prep-NProx-house-Dist
were taken then inside the house.

(196)   ʔałps-tutim   (197)   ʔałps-tutim   ʔał-tXʷ
(196)   eat-CPass   (197)   eat-CPass   Prep-then
(196)   They were given something to eat.   (197)   They were fed then.

(198)   ƛ̓ap-aw-tu-č̓   ac   (199)   ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k
(198)   go-they-Conf-Perf   these ones   (199)   Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
(198)   They went again.   (199)   They had not been

ʔayk̓-m-uc-ī-naw   ł̓aXʷ   s-ałps-aw   ał-tXʷ   way
be long-MP-mouth-Dim-they   those ones   Der-eat-they   Prep-then   OK
eating long when she began to be heard again all right.

s-nu-tuin-m-uc-kʷ-tu-č̓   ʔiłʔaył   (200)   ʔix-axʷs
Der-agent-show-MP-mouth-Quot-Conf-Perf   that one   (200)   Distb-holler
(200)   She was

ʔał-ta-alũX-aw-tXʷ   (201)   ʔaX-kʷ-tu   nu-wal-
Prep-NProx-be behind-they-Dist   (201)   Neg-Quot-Conf   agent-leave-
hollering at the spot they had been.   (201)   They never ceased to be

-ał-tim   x-ił   ʔal-a-mnta-naw   (202)   way   yaya-liwa-
-foot-Pass   Prep-her   Prep-Prox-path-their   (202)   well   good Redp-Sim-
followed by her wherever they went.   (202)   "Well, good luck!"

-timut-aXʷ   cut-s-kʷ-tu-č̓   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   ʔuł-tXʷ
-CRefl-Impv   say-he-Quot-Conf-Perf   NProx-person-Dist   Prep-them
the man said to them.

(203)   ƛ̓msta-nix-tit-kʷ-tu   (204)   yaya-liwa-timut-
(203)   person-LC-they/them-Quot-Conf   (204)   good Redp-Sim-CRefl-
(203)   They thought they were really people.   (204)   "Good luck!

-aXʷ   (205)   ʔus-pāXuła-yayx-ił   č̓aw-cx   cut-s-kʷ-č̓
-Impv   (205)   Dir-fierce-LCRes-we   this one-Prox   say-he-Quot-Perf
(205)   We're going to be visited by this fierce woman," the

ta-cāctī-tX (206) č̓Xɬmayx s-q̓ʷala-yuc-m-is
NProx-young person-Dist (206) true Der-be no more-mouth-MP-she/it
young man said. (206) "She truly ate up all the people

č̓aw-cx ta-sta-apsuɬ-ɬ-iɬ ʔaɬ-tu-amat-iɬ-ƛ̓aXʷ
this one-Prox NProx-co-village-Mid-our Prep-NProx-stay-we-Mid
in the village where we live," the young man said

s-ʔapsuɬ-iɬ cut-s-kʷ-č̓ ta-cāctī-tX ʔuɬ-tXʷ
Der-live-we say-he-Quot-Perf NProx-young person-Dist Prep-them
to them.

(207) way (208) ti-ka-ks ti-ya s-ka-ʔaci-ɬ cut-
(207) OK (208) Prox-which-Ind Prox-good Der-Unr-vehicle-we say-
(207) "OK. (208) Which boat would be good for us to use?" they

-a-kʷ tXʷ (209) ʔulix-a-naw ʔuɬ-ti-ka-XiXl-
-they-Quot they (209) choose-Intr-they Prep-Prox-Unr-unstable Redp-
said. (209) They were picking a boat that would be

-āX-kʷ ti-ka-ɬalas (210) ʔaXʷ-i-č̓i-k aɬnap-ic
-bottom-Quot Prox-Unr-boat (210) Neg-Contr-Perf know-I/it
unstable. (210) I don't know.

(211) mucalxʷ-us-m-č̓n č̓ayx ka-cix-tū ci-spyu-cx
(211) confuse-face-MP-Impf this one Unr-be she-NContr Prox-auklet-Prox
(211) I'm confused about whether it was the auklet that was the one.

(212) ci-xɬ-ɬalas-kʷ ti-XiXl-āX ti-ʔaci-tum-
(212) Prox-have-boat-Quot Prox-unstable Redp-bottom Prox-vehicle-CPass-
(212) She was the one who had the boat that was an unstable

-kʷ-č̓ iɬʔayɬ (213) k̓ʷnta-cut-a-kʷ-č̓n (214) nu-
-Quot-Perf that one (213) decide-Refl-they-Quot-Impf (214) agent-
vehicle. (213) They made their plans. (214) "Floor

-mac-ik-taXʷ (215) nu-mac-ik-
-floor-long horizontal axis-Impv (215) agent-floor-long horizontal axis-
it. (215) Floor it with these

-taXʷ ʔūl-a-t̓upiłc-kʷ-c̓n-ʔac (216) way (217) cut-m-tim
-Impv Prep-Prox-water louse-Quot-Impf-Prox (216) OK (217) say-Tr-Pass
water lice." (216) OK. (217) They were

s-ka-nu-mac-ik-im ta-łalas-tX
Der-Unr-agent-floor-long horizontal axis-Pass NProx-boat-Dist
told to put floor boards in the boat.

(218) ƛ̓ap-m-im c̓ayx s-ka-kʷn-im ʔal-a-ac
(218) go-Tr-Pass this one Der-Unr-bring-Pass Prep-Prox-then
(218) Someone went to fetch her then.

(219) ʔał-ʔay-s x-tXʷ way s-c̓kt-s ta-kʷn-t-tXʷ
(219) Res-do-it Prep-then OK Der-arrive-he NProx-bring-he/her-Dist
(219) This is what happened when the one who was going to get her

ʔuł-ił (220) nmp-imut-s s-XiXl-āX-m-s-kʷ
Prep-her (220) get into-Refl-she Der-unstable Redp-bottom-MP-she-Quot
arrived. (220) When she got into the boat, it rocked unstably.

ta-łalas-tXʷ (221) ʔii ʔaXʷ-tXʷ ʔisq̓is-liwa-nu cut-m-im-
NProx-boat-Dist (221) aiee Neg-Impv move roughly-Sim-you say-Tr-Pass-
(221) "Aiee, don't move about so roughly," she was

-kʷ ʔiłʔaył (222) XiXl-āx-mas ti-łalas-t̓ayx cut-s-
-Quot that one (222) unstable Redp-bottom-Abs Prox-boat-Prox say-he-
told. (222) "This boat is always unstable," he said.

-kʷ-c̓n t̓aX (223) ʔaa ya-nu-ma ka-aXc-nu cut-s-
-Quot-Impf that one (223) ahh good-you-Dub Unr-lie down-you say-he-
(223) "Ahh, you might be better off if you were

-kʷ-c̓ t̓aX (224) ʔaXc-X (225) ʔaXc-m-s-kʷ-
-Quot-Perf that one (224) lie down-Impv (225) lie down-MP-she-Quot-
lying down," he said. (224) "Lie down!" (225) She lay down

-c̓ ʔiłʔaył ʔał-ta-as-ik-ta-s ta-łalas-
-Perf that one Prep-NProx-Loc-long horizontal axis-Inst-its NProx-boat-
on the bottom of the boat.

-tX (226) ƛ̓ap-kʷ ɬayx (227) ʔaayk̓-aɬ-timut-kʷ-c̓n
-Dist (226) go-Quot this one (227) be long-foot-CRefl-Quot-Impf
(226) He started off. (227) He took a very long time

ɬayx s-nukɬm-s (228) ʔii ...ʔii cucut-kʷ-i-c̓i-k
this one Der-go across-he (228) aiee...aiee say Redp-Quot-Contr-Perf
going across. (228) "Aiee! Aiee!" she said again and

ʔiɬʔayɬ (229) ʔii (230) wix-kʷ-ma-ku-c̓ s-knix-
that one (229) aiee (230) be then-Quot-Dub-Surp-Perf Der-eat-
again. (229) "Aiee!" (230) That was when her back was being

-uɬ-ik-im-c̓ iɬʔayɬ x-tu-
-distributed-long horizontal axis-Pass-Perf that one Prep-NProx-
eaten by the water lice.

-ɬupiɬc-tXʷ (231) ʔaɬʔaɬ-ʔay-uc-c̓ way (232) ʔaXʷ-tXʷ
-water louse-Dist (231) Res Redp-do-mouth-Perf OK (232) Neg-Impv
(231) He kept on talking. (232) "Don't

ʔiq̓-cut-nu ka-plik-m-ɬ cucut-s-kʷ-c̓
move back and forth-Refl-you Unr-turn over-MP-we say Redp-he-Quot-Perf
move about or we'll tip over," the man kept saying to her.

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ʔuɬ-iɬ (233) kan-nix-tuɬxʷ ka-plik-m-ɬ
NProx-person-Dist Prep-her (233) meet-LC-you/us Unr-turn over-MP-we
(233) "You'll cause us to have an

cucut-s-kʷ ʔuɬ-iɬ (234) ʔaɬ-ʔay-kʷ-i-
say Redp-he-Quot Prep-her (234) Res-do-Quot-Contr-
accident if we tip over," he repeated to her. (234) He did like

-lu-c̓i-k ɬaX s-ka-aayk̓-aɬ-timut-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ
-Expv-Perf that one Der-Unr-be long-foot-CRefl-he prep-then
that as he was taking his time coming across then.

s-nukɬm-s (235) q̓ʷala-yuc-m-im-kʷ ʔiɬʔayɬ
Der-go across-he (235) be no more-mouth-MP-Pass-Quot that one
(235) The animal was consumed by the water

x-tu-ŧupiłc-tXʷ s-knix-im ʔił-nanmk̓-ił
Prep-NProx-water louse-Dist Der-eat-Pass NProx-animal-Dist
lice, eaten up.

(236) č̓kt-us-tum ʔuł-tu-ʔamat-aw-tXʷ (237) ʔaa ʔum-
(236) arrive-face-CPass Prep-NProx-stay-they-Dist (237) ahh get out-
(236) She was taken to where the others were. (237) Ahh, the one

-s-kʷ-č̓ ti-kʷn-likʷ-łł-ŧayx (238) ʔaŧma ʔiłʔaył
-he-Quot-Perf Prox-bring-everything-DP-Prox (238) die that one
who had brought her got out. (238) "She's dead,"

cucut-s-kʷ-č̓n ŧaX (239) way ya ʔił-ʔaw-xʷ-
say Redp-he-Quot-Impf that one (239) well good NProx-be near-you/it-
he was saying. (239) "Well, that's all right for her

-ił (240) ʔus-pāXuła-yayx-ił ʔił-ʔaw-xʷ-ił cut-s-kʷ-
-Dist (240) Dir-fierce-LCRes-we NProx-be near-you/it-Dist say-he-Quot-
there. (240) She was a fierce nuisance to us," the young man said.

-č̓ ta-cāctī-tX (241) wix-kʷ-i-č̓i-k ʔac
-Perf NProx-young person-Dist (241) be it-Quot-Contr-Perf these things
(241) That's what happened to her

s-ʔay-s-č̓ ʔiłʔaył ʔał-tXʷ (242) ʔay-s-kʷ-lu-č̓
Der-happen-she-Perf that one Prep-then (242) happen-she-Quot-Expv-Perf
then. (242) It happened then

x-tXʷ s-ʔaXʷ-č̓n nic-m-s ʔał-tXʷ (243) knix-im x-
Prep-then Der-Neg-Impf live-MP-she Prep-then (243) eat-Pass Prep-
that she never came back to life. (243) The woman was

-tu-ŧupiłc-tXʷ ʔił-ƛ̓msta-ił (244) ʔay ƛ̓ap-aw-tu-č̓
-NProx-water louse-Dist NProx-person-Dist (244) aiee go-they-Conf-Perf
eaten by the water lice. (244) Aiee, they went

ʔac s-ka-iXʷ-anm-aw s-ka-ixix-q̓m-aw ʔał-tXʷ
these ones Der-Unr-far-LCDev-they Der-Unr-Distb Redp-step-they Prep-then
walking farther on then.

(245) ʔixix-q̓m-aw ʔał-tXʷ way ʔał-ta-ʔasikāX-tXʷ
(245) Distb Redp-step-they Prep-then OK Prep-NProx-forest-Dist
(245) They were walking in the forest then.

(246) kal-ał-m-it-kʷ-č̓ ƚaXʷ ti-ƛ̓kuł ʔał-tXʷ
(246) meet-foot-MP-they/it-Quot-Perf those ones Prox-hill Prep-there
(246) They came upon a hill there.

(247) łk̓m-s-kʷ-č̓ ƚaX ūł-ił-sūXi-s-ił
(247) speak-he-Quot-Perf that one Prep-NProx-younger sister-his-Dist
(247) He spoke to his younger sister.

(248) ka-s-cay-uł-is ka-ʔanayk-s s-ka-talaws-aw
(248) seek-Der- -direction-he/her Unr-want-she Der-Unr-marry-they
(248) He asked her whether she wanted them to marry then.

ʔał-tXʷ (249) ʔaX-kʷ-alu-č̓n ʔanayk-s ʔił-cāctī-ł
Prep-then (249) Neg-Quot-Att-Impf want-she NProx-young person-Dist
(249) The young woman did not want to marry her older

s-ka-ay-s x-tXʷ s-ka-talaws-s ʔuł-ta-q̓ʷalm-s-tX
Der-Unr-do-she Prep-then Der-Unr-marry-she Prep-NProx-older brother-her-Dist
brother then.

(250) łk̓m-s-kʷ-tu-č̓ ta-cāctī-tX ʔūł-ił
(250) speak-he-Quot-Conf-Perf NProx-young person-Dist Prep-her
(250) The young man spoke to her again.

(251) wix s-ka-si-lip̓-ał-ayx-aw ta-sta-apsuł-ł-ił-
(251) be it Der-Unr-Der-return-foot-LCRes-they NProx-co-village-Mid-our-
(251) "So that the ones living in the village with us might return

-tXʷ si-ʔanayk-c s-ka-ka-s-cay-uł-cinu cut-s-kʷ-č̓
-Dist Der-want-I Der-Unr-seek-Der- -direction-I/you say-he-Quot-Perf
is the reason I wanted to ask you," the man said to her.

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ʔūł-ił (252) k̓ʷnta-cut-s ʔuł-ił (253) ʔay-
NProx-person-Dist Prep-her (252) decide-Refl-he Prep-her (253) do-
(252) He told her his plan. (253) "You

-ał-nu   ʔal-a-ac   ʔay-ał-ʔi-č̓i-k   ʔal-a-ac
-foot-you   Prep-Prox-here   do-foot-Contr-Perf   Prep-Prox-here
go this way, and I'll go that way."

(254) kamał-č̓Xłmayx-i-lu-či-k   s-ka-kal-tmaxʷ-ił   ʔał-ti-
(254) when-true-Contr-Expv-Perf   Der-Unr-meet-Recip-we   Prep-Prox-
(254) If we indeed meet each other at the other end, then we'll

-tpi-lXs-ŧ̓ayx   s-ka-talaws-ił-lu-č̓   cut-kʷ-i-či-k
-opposite-end-Prox   Der-Unr-marry-we-Expv-Perf   say-Quot-Contr-Perf
marry," the young man said to his younger sister.

ta-cācti̅-tX   ʔūł-ił-sūXi-s-ił   (255) ʔał-ʔay-
NProx-young person-Dist   Prep-NProx-younger sister-his-Dist   (255) Res-do-
(255) They

-na-kʷ-i-lu-či-k   ŧ̓aXʷ   ał-tXʷ   (256) ʔil-ūł-a-
-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf   those ones   Prep-then   (256) pass-round-Intr-
did that then.   (256) They went

-t-it-č̓   ta-ƛ̓kuł   ta-smt-tX   (257) ʔay-naw ʔał-
-Tr-they/it-Perf   NProx-hill   NProx-mountain-Dist   (257) do-they Prep-
around the hump of a mountain.   (257) Then they met

-tXʷ   s-kal-tmaxʷ-aw-č̓   ʔał-ta-tpi-lXs-tXʷ   (258) ʔay-
-then   Der-meet-Recip-they-Perf   Prep-NProx-opposite-end-Dist   (258) do-
each other at the opposite end.   (258) They

-naw-lu-č̓   ac   x-tXʷ   s-ʔip̓-tmaxʷ-aw   (259) ʔay-
-they-Expv-Perf   these ones   Prep-then   Der-grasp-Recip-they   (259) do-
grasped each other then.   (259) The

-kʷ-lu-ku-č̓i-ks   ła-nanmk̓-am-ł   s-q̓ʷala-yuc-m-
-Quot-Expv-Surp-Perf-Ind   NProx-animal-CD-Dist   Der-be no more-mouth-MP-
woman who became an animal was all gone, devoured by the water

-im   x-tu-ŧ̓upiłc-tXʷ   (260) way   (261) ʔał-a-ʔi̅-k̓ʷu
-Pass   Prep-NProx-water louse-Dist   (260) OK   (261) Res-do-Dim-Usit
lice.   (260) OK.   (261) That's how

x-taXʷ way s-sm̄sma-yūs-cant ta-
Prep-those things OK Der-tell story Redp-front-they/me NProx-
the old people used to tell those things when they would tell me

-ɬlk̓ʷlx-ɬɬ-ƛaXʷ (262) way
-old person Redp-DP-Mid (262) OK
stories. (262) OK.

* * * * * *

The Girl and the Animal

Okay, I'll tell the story about what happened to four girls back at the time the world was created.

They went into the forest hunting for berries to pick. There were four of them. As one of them was walking through the forest she stepped on something sticky, and she swore. She wiped her foot off and started walking again. She had not gone very far before she met a person who was really an animal. He asked her, "What is your shit like?"

"Ahh," she said. "It's always chunky."

"Okay. Go ahead and shit," he said to her.

She went a little ways off and pretended to shit, but she just dropped some chunks of wax from her ears on the ground where she had been squatting. "Okay. Go ahead and take a look," she told him, and the man went to look at it. He examined it really closely. She was standing there close to him and he really wanted her, so he seduced her. She said, "Okay." When the animal had finished with her, she stood up. He started to question her. "Will you go with me?" the animal asked. She just looked at him.

"Maybe I'll go with you after I see where you are going," she said.

"Okay. Come on," he said. He took off his animal guise and walked towards his house like a human being. She was taken inside. The man began to make up his bed.

"Hmm. I wonder if I'll be able to get in bed with him," she thought. He heard her thoughts and said, "Yes. You can get into bed. You will be able to do it."

She was a little afraid to get into his bed, but he massaged her body and she finally crawled in. His sheets were made of devils's club, and they were very dangerous-looking..

In the middle of the winter she got hungry. The animal got up to cook her some strips of spring salmon. It was supposed to be spring salmon. but it was really only strips of skunk cabbage. He had cooked skunk cabbage, but she thought it was spring salmon and perhaps in a way it looked like spring salmon. He gave it to her to eat. After they had finished eating, they returned to bed and stayed there until the spring. The woman had no idea that it was fast becoming summer.

Her parents had looked for her in the forest, but they hadn't found any trace of her. She returned to them then as a human being. She called on her younger brother to search for her husband, the animal. She told him where the animal usually slept. The young man went there and killed him. The woman had him brought to a spot outside her house, and they began to skin the animal. She told her younger brother not to pull the pelt off the wrists and to be sure to save the hands and feet. The young man did exactly as he was told and put them aside. She then took the pelt to the rear of the house and put it on a stretching frame. She did that herself. She called to her younger sister to go borrow some awls so she could fix the pelt to the frame, and the young girl went to do that for her. But the young girl put the awls in between her teeth and her older sister must have caught her doing that. She put on the animal skin and walked about like an animal. Her younger sister hid away and watched her. The woman returned home and took off the skin. Pretty soon, the younger sister came out of hiding, but she couldn't seem to make any sense out of what her sister was doing. She told her older brother that their sister had turned into an animal.

Day came, and the woman started going about biting off the heads of the people in the village. She was an animal biting off their heads. Her younger sister was the only one not to have her head bitten off. The sisters stayed there in the village for a long time. Their brother had gone hunting. The younger sister had become hungry and was digging around for roots when her brother returned and gave her a grouse. "Tell our sister you speared it with your shovel if she asks," he told her. The young girl did as she was told. She went inside when it got dark. The older sister was steaming some roots she had dug up. The younger sister was asked how she managed to catch a grouse, and she told her sister she had speared it with her shovel. The young girl cooked it for herself then.

When day came, the young girl saw her brother outside. He brought her food -- young birds. "What's she like at night? What does she do?" her brother asked.

"Well, we always burn the leftover bones. And then she makes marks on the palms of her hands. She puts them to the fire like this. She writes with the ashes of the bones," she said. "And I do just like she does."

"Okay. Take care. I'm going to hide and watch when it gets dark " he said. He was hurt that his sister had gone around and bit the heads off the people in the village.

It all happened just as the girl had described it. The woman burned the bones to ash and wrote on her palms. Her brother shot arrows into her hands and she died. He started to butcher her. He just cut her up and put her inside their house.

Dawn came. "Take heart. We'll go off somewhere," he said to his sister. The young girl got dressed and was ready when the sun came over the mountain. They set off walking. They just wandered about in the forest not knowing where to go. Finally they found a path. It was a canyon they had come to. Well, the young man didn't know how to get to the other side. I think I skipped something there. Oh yeah. They started a fire in the house. They tried to set their sister on fire, and the woman must have come to life again. Well, he was lucky enough to have a belt made of leather that will protect him wherever he goes. He can use it for anything. He threw the end of it across to the other side of the canyon. The end took hold, and that was what they used to walk across the canyon to the other side. The animal turned up again. She hollered after them, but they got away. She was hollering to them asking how they had crossed the canyon.

On the other side they started walking again. They had not gone far when they came to an open area. They heard someone making noises with his mouth and they began to walk faster in the direction from which the noise was coming. They came out of the forest and there was a village on the opposite side of the clearing. They hollered for someone to come fetch them. They were asked what it was they were doing. They told the one who had come for them about their sister and how she had turned into an animal. They were taken inside and given something to eat.

They hadn't been eating long before they heard their sister again. She kept on following them wherever they went. "We are being pursued by this fierce animal-woman," they told their hosts. "We have to get away again. Can you lend us a boat to use?" They picked out a boat that was not stable. I am not sure about this part now. I think it was the auklet. She had a boat that was easy to tip over. They were told to put floorboards in the boat. They had made their plans to go fetch their sister in this unstable boat. They went across and fetched her. The boat rocked when she got into it. "Aiee. Don't move about so sharply," she was told. "This boat is really unstable," said the brother. "Ahh, maybe it would be better off if you were lying down on the floorboards."

The older sister lay down in the bottom of the boat and he started off. It took a long time to get across. "Aiee, aiee," shrieked the older sister again. Her back was being eaten by the waterlice the brother had hidden among the floorboards. He kept saying, "Don't move about or we will tip over. You'll cause us to tip over and have an accident." He said that as he took his time coming across. The animal was eaten up by the waterlice. He took her to where the others were waiting. "She's dead," he said. "Well that is good for all those who came near her. She was a terrible trouble for us," he said. And so that was how it ended. She was eaten by the waterlice and never came back to life.

The brother and sister started walking again. After a while they came to a hill and sat atop it. The brother asked his sister if she wanted to get married then. She said that she didn't want to marry him. The older brother spoke to her again. "The reason I wanted to ask you that was to find some way to return people to our village." Then he told her his plan. "You go this way, and I'll go that way. If we meet again then we'll marry." The girl agreed and they set out each on their separate ways. They went around a small mountain and met on the other side. They grasped one another. The woman who had become an animal was finished, eaten up by the waterlice.

Well, that's how the old people used to tell it when they told stories. That's all.

Iłixʷani and a Story about the Raven

(1) way (2) ˀay-ūc-timut-c s-ka-sm̄sma-yamk-ic
(1) OK (2) do-mouth-CRefl-I Der-Unr-tell story Redp-Pat-I/it
(1) OK. (2) I'm going to tell a story.

(3) ˀiłixʷani s-ˀał-ˀay-s-ck x-tXʷ s-k̓ʷał-tn-im wa-
(3) ˀiłixʷani Der-Res-do-it-InfDub Prep-then Der-form-Inst-Pass Prox-
(3) Iłixʷani was like this at the time the world was created.

-sunxʷ-ac (4) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ ta-nu-mūs ta-cucl-
-world-Prox (4) go-they-Quot-Perf NProx-human-four NProx-young person-
(4) Four young people from here went upriver.

-uks-ī-tXʷ ˀal-a-ac ˀul-Xł (5) ˀaX-kʷ-č̓ ałnap-
-Pl-Dim-Dist Prep-Prox-here Prep-upriver (5) Neg-Quot-Perf know-
(5) They did not know

-it ka-umat-ał-aw ˀał-tXʷ (6) tm-ˀałˀał-ˀay-ł-aw
-they/it Unr-get to-foot-they Prep-then (6) just-Res Redp-do-foot-they
where they were going then. (6) They just kept on walking.

(7) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ ƚaXʷ way s-ka-q̓lum-aw ˀal-a-ˀay-
(7) go-they-Quot-Perf those ones OK Der-Unr-climb-they Prep-Prox-do-
(7) They started climbing up at this place called "Iłixʷani".

-us-m-im-ˀac ˀiłixʷani-s (8) ˀiłixʷani cut-a-kʷ ˀul-
-mouth-MP-Pass-Prox ˀiłixʷani-it (8) ˀiłixʷani say-they-Quot Prep-
(8) They called Iłixʷani the place

-a-amat-s ci-ˀiłixʷani-tum-lu-čn-čayx (9) nu-sqč̓-
-Prox-stay-she Prox-ˀiłixʷani-CPass-Expv-Impf-Prox (9) agent-sand-
where the woman who was already named that stayed. (9) They

-it-kʷ-čn ƚaXʷ ta-mna-s ˀiłˀaył ˀal-a-
-they/him-Quot-Impf those ones NProx-child-her that one Prep-Prox-
buried her son on the bank of the river.

-kuł-āX-uc	a-anuXʷum-ac	(10)	ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓	ał-tXʷ
-surface-behind-edge	Prox-river-Prox	(10)	go-they-Quot-Perf	Prep-then
		(10)	They went on walking	

s-cay-ak-m-it	s-ka-ixix-q̓m-aw	(11)	ʔay-ał-
Der-finish-hand-MP-they/him	Der-Unr-Distb Redp-step-they	(11)	do-foot-
when they had finished with him.		(11)	They got

-a-kʷ-č̓	ūł-ił	s-us-txʷ-aw	(12)	ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-k
-they-Quot-Perf	Prep-her	Der-Dir-inside-they	(12)	Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv
to her (Iłixʷani) place and went inside.			(12)	They had not

ayk̓-m-ī-naw	ŧaXʷ	s-as-txʷ-aw	ał-ił	s-ka-
be long-MP-Dim-they	those ones	Der-Loc-inside-they	Prep-her	Der-seek-
been in her house very long before they were asked by her whether				

-s-cay-uł-tim	x-ʔił	ka-k̓x-it	ta-mna-s-tX
-Der- -direction-Pass	Prep-her	Unr-see-they/him	NProx-child-her-Dist
they had seen her son.			

(13)	ʔaXʷ-a-ku	k̓x-ł-ip	ta-mna-ł-c	cut-s-kʷ-
(13)	Neg-question-Surp	see-Mid-you/him	NProx-child-Mid-my	say-she-Quot-
(13)	"Didn't you see my son?" she said.			

-č̓	ił?aył	(14)	ʔaXʷ cut-a-kʷ-č̓-tū	ŧaXʷ	ka-
-Perf	that one	(14)	Neg say-they-Quot-Perf-NContr	those ones	Unr-
		(14)	And they said "No," when they were questioned		

-ka-s-cay-uł-tim-kʷ-č̓	x-ił	(15)	qʷin-nimut-a-
-seek-Der- -direction-Pass-Quot-Perf	Prep-her	(15)	deny-LCRefl-they-
by her.		(15)	They denied that

-kʷ-č̓	s-ka-k̓x-it	(16)	nu-sqč̓-it-kʷ-č̓
-Quot-Perf	Der-Unr-see-they/him	(16)	agent-sand-they/him-Quot-Perf
they had seen him.		(16)	They had buried him on the

ŧaXʷ	al-a-kuł-āX-uc	a-anuXʷum-ac	ʔał-tXʷ
those ones	Prep-Prox-surface-behind-edge	Prox-river-Prox	Prep-then
bank of the river.			

(17) ƛ̓ap-aw-c̓ ʔuɬ-iɬ (18) wix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k tXʷ way
(17) go-they-Perf Prep-her (18) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf then OK
(17) They had gone to her place. (18) That was when she turned the

s-nu-liq̓ʷ-aq̓ʷs-is-kʷ-c̓ ʔiɬʔayɬ ta-ic̓ama-m-is-
Der-agent-turn-bottom-she/it-Quot-Perf that one NProx-blanket-Tr-she/it-
blanket she wore inside out.

-tX (19) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ a-sunxʷ-ac s-ka-nu-suk̓-cut-s
-Dist (19) go-it-Quot-Perf Prox-sky-Prox Der-Unr-agent-blow-Refl-it
(19) Then the weather began to blow.

(20) sps-s-kʷ-lu-c̓ x-tXʷ (21) suk̓-tim-kʷ-c̓
(20) east wind-it-Quot-Expv-Perf Prep-then (21) blow-Pass-Quot-Perf
(20) The east wind blew then. (21) Some of them were

ta-axʷɬ-tXʷ (22) ʔaX-kʷ ʔay-s ta-nu-maw-tXʷ s-ka-ƛ̓i-
NProx-some-Dist (22) Neg-Quot do-he NProx-human-one-Dist Der-Unr-fast-
blown away. (22) There was one of them fast enough that it did not

-s (23) tix-kʷ-i-c̓i-k t̓ayx ti-ʔaxʷs-ay-layx ūɬ-
-he (23) be he-Quot-Contr-Perf this one Prox-shout-Aux-IC Prep-
happen to. (23) He was the one who was able to shout to her.

-iɬ (24) k̓x-ɬ-iɬ ta-mna-nu (25) k̓x-ɬ-iɬ cut-s-
-her (24) see-Mid-we/him NProx-child-your (25) see-Mid-we/him say-he-
(24) "We saw your son. (25) We saw him," that

-kʷ-c̓n t̓aX ta-nu-maw-tX aɬ-tXʷ (26) s-k̓ʷaɬ-
-Quot-Impf that one NProx-human-one-Dist Prep-then (26) Der-control-
one of them said. (26) The woman

-am-timut-s-kʷ-c̓ ʔiɬ-ƛ̓msta-yɬ (27) ʔuXuq̓X-is-kʷ-
-CD-CRefl-she-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist (27) call Redp-she/him-Quot-
got control of herself then. (27) She called to him

-c̓ ʔiɬʔayɬ t̓aX s-ka-puƛ̓-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-ka-ks-tis
-Perf that one that one Der-Unr-come-he Prep-then Der-Unr-pull-he/them
to come get the ones who had been blown away.

ta-suk̓-tim-tXʷ (28) kuɬ-āX-uc-am-tutis-kʷ-č̓
NProx-blow-Pass-Dist (28) surface-behind-edge-CD-Che/them-Quot-Perf
(28) He lay them by the fire.

ʔuɬ-ta-nīXʷ-tXʷ (29) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ ʔiɬʔayɬ s-ka-nu-
Prep-NProx-fire-Dist (29) go-she-Quot-Perf that one Der-Unr-agent-
(29) She began to drip what must have been

-č̓xmxm-lqs-ī-tutis-č̓n ƛ̓aXʷ x-ta-ʔīXsa-ma-
-drip MP Redp-nose-Dim-Cshe/them-Impf those ones Prep-NProx-medicine-Dub-
medicine into their noses.

-lu-kʷ-tXʷ (30) nu-tɬ-lɬ-lqs-m-ī-tutis-kʷ-č̓
-Expv-Quot-Dist (30) agent-strong-Inch-nose-MP-Dim-Cshe/them-Quot-Perf
(30) She made their breathing stronger.

(31) ʔay-na-kʷ-č̓-tū x-tXʷ s-ka-nic-m-aw tu-
(31) do-they-Quot-Perf-NContr Prep-then Der-Unr-live-MP-they NProx-
(31) And then the people came to life.

-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ (32) puƛ̓-a-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-k̓ʷaɬ-am-m-aw ʔaɬ-
-person-Dist (32) come-they-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-control-CD-MP-they Prep-
(32) They returned to normal then.

-tXʷ (33) puƛ̓-a-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-kʷn-it ta-mna-s-
-then (33) come-they-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-get-they/them NProx-child-her-
(33) They had come to get her son, who liked to go for fish

-tX s-ʔunus-slīXʷ-m-s-kʷ ʔūɬ-ti-ʔanu-psuɬ-āX-tuɬs
-Dist Der-go in order to-fish-MP-he-Quot Prep-Prox-Cont-live-bottom-it/us
to the village down below us here.

ʔal-a-ac (34) ʔay-s-kʷ x-tXʷ s-ka-puƛ̓-s
Prep-Prox-here (34) do-he-Quot Prep-then Der-Unr-come-he
(34) It happened to him when he was coming to do that.

(35) ʔiXʷ-am-kʷ ta-anu-slīXʷ-m-tX
(35) far-CD-Quot NProx-Cont-fish-MP-Dist
(35) He went far to have fish.

(36) Xɬaɬ-s-a-ma-
(36) hungry-he-Incomp-Dub-
(36) I suppose he must

-cki ˀał-tuX si-ˀay-s (37) way
-InfDub Prep-then Der-do-he (37) OK
have been hungry at the time is why he did it. (37) OK.

(38) cacī-nix-ic-lu-k̓ʷ x-ƛaXʷ (39) way
(38) finish Redp-LC-I/it-Expv-Usit Prep-those things (39) OK
(38) I think that's about the end of those matters. (39) OK.

(40) q̓ʷXʷ-uc-m-c-i-s-či-k (41) q̓ʷXʷ-uc-m-c
(40) move-mouth-MP-I-Contr-Expb-Perf (41) move-mouth-MP-I
(40) I'll go on to another story. (41) I'll go on.

(42) sm̄sma-yamk-tim-ma-tū ˀuł-ti-qʷaXʷ-ƛayx
(42) tell story Redp-Pat-Pass-Dub-NContr Prep-Prox-raven-Prox
(42) Perhaps they were told about the raven.

(43) ˀuq̓X-tis-kʷ-č ƛaX ta-s-kukuł-xnas-
(43) call-he/them-Quot-Perf that one NProx-Der-endowed with Redp-woman-
(43) He called his female relatives.

-s-tXʷ (44) ˀuq̓X-tis-kʷ-č (45) ˀałi-naXʷ
-his-Dist (44) call-he/them-Quot-Perf (45) be in a location-Impv
(44) He called them. (45) "Come here!

(46) ˀałi-naXʷ s-ka-q̓łkʷ-cut-ap (47) kaw-tułap
(46) be in a location-Impv Der-Unr-dress-Refl-you (47) carry-we/you
(46) Come here and dress! (47) We'll take

ul-a-ał-k̓x-ic ˀawa (48) maay ti-ka-txuł-
Prep-Prox-Res-see-I/it surrounding area (48) oh Prox-Unr-toward-
you to a place I've seen around here. (48) Ooh, there are so many

-alakt-m-s ti-sqaluc-ƛayx cut-kʷ ta-qʷaXʷ-tX uł-tu-
-do wrongly-MP-it Prox-berry-Prox say-Quot NProx-raven-Dist Prep-NProx-
berries you won't know what to do with them," the raven said to his

-s-kukuł-xnas-s-tXʷ (49) ˀaX-kʷ kma-m-tim
-Der-endowed with Redp-woman-his-Dist (49) Neg-Quot ache-Tr-Pass
female relatives. (49) Raven's relatives

ta-s-kukuɬ-xnas-s qʷaXʷ (50) ʔawq̓aw-cut-
NProx-Der-endowed with Redp-woman-his raven (50) put away Redp-Refl-
were not late in getting out of bed. (50) They were all

-a-kʷ-č̓ ʔaɬ-tXʷ (51) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ ac s-ka-
-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then (51) go-they-Quot-Perf these ones Der-Unr-
packed then. (51) They went to be taken by him in

-aɬ-kʷn-tim x-tX ʔaɬ-ta-ɬalas-s-tX (52) Xapa-t-it-
-Res-take-Pass Prep-him Prep-NProx-boat-his-Dist (52) pack-Tr-they/it-
his boat. (52) They were

-kʷ-č̓ t̓aXʷ tu-s-q̓aw-als-uks-aw-tXʷ way
-Quot-Perf those ones NProx-Der-put away-wall-Pl-their-Dist OK
packing along their cedar boxes all right.

(53) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-ɬXan-m-aw (54) ʔay-na-kʷ-č̓
(53) go-they-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-hunt-MP-they (54) do-they-Quot-Perf
(53) They started hunting. (54) They went to pick

x-tXʷ s-ʔiɬcay-naw ʔūl-aɬ-k̓x-is ta-uXuq̓X-
Prep-then Der-pick berries-they Prep-Res-see-he/it NProx-call Redp-
berries in the direction of where the one who had called them had

-tan-tX (55) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-ixix-q̓m-aw
-he/them-Dist (55) go-they-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-Distb Redp-step-they
seen them. (55) They began to walk about in the forest.

ʔaɬ-ta-asikāX-tXʷ (56) wix-a-č̓n ʔawa
Prep-NProx-forest-Dist (56) be there-question-Impf surrounding area
(56) "Is the place around here?" they were

cucut-a-k̓ʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k t̓aXʷ (57) ʔal-a-ƛ̓uk̓-ī-c
say Redp-they-Quot-Contr-Usit those ones (57) Prep-Prox-high-Dim-Prox
asking. (57) "It's higher up,"

cut-kʷ-k̓ʷu tX ʔuɬ-tXʷ (58) ʔūl-a-s-č̓kt-aɬ-a-kʷ
say-Quot-Usit he Prep-them (58) Prep-Prox-Der-reach-foot-they-Quot
he would say to them. (58) As soon as they reached the place

t̓aXʷ ˀuł-ta-ˀamat-s-kʷ-tXʷ ta-ay-uc-m-is-kʷ-tXʷ
those ones Prep-NProx-stay-it-Quot-Dist NProx-do-mouth-MP-he/it-Quot-Dist
where the berries were, the place he had said there were many, they

wa-slaX-s s-ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-iłcay-naw ˀał-tXʷ
Prox-many-it Der-go-they-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-pick berries-they Prep-then
began to pick them.

(59) ˀiłcay-na-kʷ-č̓n t̓aXʷ ał-tXʷ (60) ˀaX-kʷ-
(59) pick berries-they-Quot-Impf those ones Prep-then (60) Neg-Quot-
(59) They were picking berries then. (60) They

-i-lu-k ˀayk̓-aw t̓aXʷ ał-tXʷ way s-lik̓-layx-uks-
-Contr-Expv be long time-they those ones Prep-then OK Der-full-IC-Pl-
weren't long in each one getting her basket full.

-aw (61) lip̓-cut-ał-a-kʷ-č̓ ac ˀuł-ta-łalas-
-they (61) return-Refl-foot-they-Quot-Perf these ones Prep-NProx-boat-
(61) They walked back to their boat to get in.

-aw-tX s-ka-nmp-imut-a-kʷ-č̓ ˀał-tXʷ (62) ˀał-
-their-Dist Der-Unr-put into - Refl-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then (62) Res-
(62) "Hold

-ˀay-naw-iłū (63) ˀaps-c-lū cut-s-kʷ-su-tu-č̓ t̓aX ...
-do-Pl-Pers (63) shit-I-Pers say-he-Quot-Expb-Conf-Perf that one ...
it! (63) I'm going to shit," he...the raven said.

ta-qʷaXʷ-tX (64) ˀum-s-kʷ-č̓ tX s-ka-aps-s
NProx-raven-Dist (64) get out-he-Quot-Perf he Der-Unr-shit-ne
(64) He got out to shit.

(65) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ tX way s-kʷn-als-t-is ta-smt-tX
(65) go-he-Quot-Perf he OK Der-walk-side-Tr-he/it NProx-mountain-Dist
(65) He started walking around the side of the mountain.

(66) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-txu-ƛ̓uk̓-s s-ka-aps-s (67) ˀał-
(66) go-he-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-toward-high-he Der-Unr-shit-he (67) Res-
(66) He started going up the mountain to shit. (67) His

-nmp-a-kʷ-č̓ ac ta-s-kukuɬ-xnas-
-put into-they-Quot-Perf these ones NProx-Der-endowed with Redp-woman-
female relatives, Cuwāstlqs, Xlx, and Askaniqs, sat in the boat.

-s ...cuwāstlqs xlx ʔaskaniqs (68) wix-ana-kʷ-č̓ ʔac
-his ...cuwāstlqs xlx ʔaskaniqs (68) be they-they-Quot-Perf these ones
(68) These were the ones who were

a-s-kukuɬ-xnas-s ti-qʷaXʷ-ŧayx (69) ʔaɬ-nmp-
Prox-Der-endowed with Redp-woman-his Prox-raven-Prox (69) Res-put into-
the raven's female relatives. (69) They sat

-a-kʷ-č̓ ʔaɬ-ta-ɬalas-tX (70) ʔaps-kʷ-č̓ ti-qʷaXʷ-
-they-Quot-Perf Prep-NProx-boat-Dist (70) shit-Quot-Perf Prox-raven-
in the boat. (70) The raven shat up above.

-ŧayx ʔaɬ-ta-ƛ̓uk̓-tXʷ (71) nu-cay-āX-s-kʷ-č̓ ŧaX
-Prox Prep-NProx-high-Dist (71) agent-finish-bottom-he-Quot-Perf that
(71) He finished shitting then.

s-ʔaps-s aɬ-tXʷ (72) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ ŧaX s-ka-
one Der-shit-he Prep-then (72) go-he-Quot-Perf that one Der-Unr-
(72) He began to address his shit.

-nu-papq-uc-is ta-mnk-s-tX (73) wina wina
-agent-name Redp-mouth-he/it NProx-shit-his-Dist (73) warrior warrior
(73) "Shiit, say

cut-X maank cut-kʷ-č̓ tX (74) cut-nu ka-inix-ī-ɬ
say-Impv shit say-Quot-Perf he (74) say-you Unr-close-Dim-we
'Warrior, Warrior'," he said. (74) "You speak just before

s-ka-yuƀalXʷ-iɬ ʔaɬ-ta-ɬay-ŧaXʷ cut-
Der-Unr-go around a point of land-we/it Prep-NProx-over there-Mid say-
we go around that point of land over there," he said to his shit.

-kʷ-i-či-k ŧaX ʔuɬ-ta-mnk-s-tX (75) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓
-Quot-Contr-Perf that one Prep-NProx-shit-his-Dist (75) go-he-Quot-Perf
(75) He then

t̓ayx ʔal-a-ac s-ka-tX-ūXnk-s ʔał-tXʷ (76) nu-
this one Prep-Prox-there Der-Unr-from-downward-he Prep-then (76) agent-
started down from there. (76) He

-papq-uc-ay-nix-is-kʷ-c̓ ta-mnk-s-tX s-ʔał-
-call Redp-mouth-Aux-LC-he/it-Quot-Perf NProx-shit-his-Dist Der-Res-
called his shit by name in order to tell it what to say.

-k̓ʷntn-ūc-is (77) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-
-decide-mouth-he/it (77) go-he-Quot-Perf this one Prep-then Der-Unr-
(77) He began to row then.

-ʔissut-s (78) way (79) ʔissut-a-kʷ-c̓ (80) ʔał-ʔay-s-kʷ-tu-
-row-he (78) OK (79) row-they-Quot-Perf (80) Res-do-he-Quot-Conf-
(78) OK. (79) They rowed. (80) It happened exactly

-tu-ku x-tXʷ s-ka-ʔinix-ī-naw s-ka-yup̓alXʷ-
-Conf-Surp Prep-then Der-Unr-close-Dim-they Der-Unr-go around a point of
as planned; as they were just about to round the point, the one

-aw s-ʔaxʷs-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-ʔay-uc-tX (81) ʔaxʷs-s-
land-they Der-holler-he-Quot-Perf NProx-do-mouth-Dist (81) holler-he-
talking hollered out. (81) The one

-kʷ-c̓ ti-ʔay-uc-t̓ayx (82) wina wina wina cut-X
-Quot-Perf Prox-do-mouth-Prox (82) warrior warrior warrior say-Impv
speaking hollered. (82) "Warrior, warrior, warrior say it

maaank cut-s-kʷ-c̓ ti-ʔay-uc ʔał-tXʷ (83) way ƛ̓a-ki-
shit say-he-Quot-Perf Prox-do-mouth Prep-then (83) OK hindrance-go-
shiiit," the one who spoke said then. (83) "OK, let's go,

-naXʷ ƛ̓a-ki-naXʷ (84) ʔix-lq̓-m-ap ʔul-a-ka-umat-
-Impv hindrance-go-Impv (84) Distb-mind-MP-you Prep-Prox-Unr-get to-
let's go! (84) You had better think of where you're

-ał-ap s-ka-łXʷ-m-ap cucut-s-kʷ-c̓ tx (85) ʔay-uc-
-foot-you Der-Unr-flee-MP-you say Redp-he-Quot-Perf he (85) do-mouth-
going to run away to," he [Raven] said. (85) The one

-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu ti-axʷs-ŧayx (86) wina wina cut-X maaank
-he-Quot-Usit Prox-holler-Prox (86) warrior warrior say-Impv shit
who hollered was still talking. (86) "Warrior, warrior say it shiiit,"

cucut-s-kʷ-k̓ʷu ŧayx ʔał-tXʷ (87) ʔałʔa-łXʷ-liwa-cut-
say Redp-he-Quot-Usit this one Prep-then (87) Res Redp-hurry-Sim-Refl-
it was saying then. (87) "Try to hurry up!

-ī-naXʷ (88) ʔik̓ł-lx-ma-lu-č̓ ti-ał-ay-uc-tx cucut-
-Dim-Impv (88) near-Inch-Dub-Expv-Perf Prox-Res-do-mouth-Prox say Redp-
(88) Maybe the person who is talking is getting near," he

-kʷ-i-s-č̓i-k ŧaX way (89) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ ʔac
-Quot-Contr-Expb-Perf that one OK (89) go-they-Quot-Perf these ones
kept saying. (89) They started into the

s-ka-ʔusikāX-am-timut-aw ʔu-ƛ̓uk̓ ʔał-ta-kuł-als-s
Der-Unr-go into forest-CD-CRefl-they Dir-high Prep-NProx-surface-side-its
forest going upward on the side of the mountain.

ta-smt-tX (90) ʔał-nmp-s-kʷ-lu-č̓ ta-s-ʔał-
NProx-mountain-Dist (90) Res-put into-it-Quot-Expv-Perf NProx-Der-Res-
(90) The berries they had picked remained in

-iłcay-naw-tXʷ ʔał-ta-łalas-tX (91) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓
-pick berries-they-Dist Prep-NProx-boat-Dist (91) go-they-Quot-Perf
the boat. (91) They went running

s-ka-łXʷ-m-aw ʔu-ƛ̓uk̓ (92) wix-kʷ-ma-su-lu-č̓
Der-Unr-flee-MP-they Dir-high (92) be then-Quot-Dub-Expb-Expv-Perf
away up the mountain. (92) When they had disappeared,

s-nu-cxm-āX-aw ŧaXʷ s-ƛ̓ap-uc-s-
Der-agent-be disappeared-distributed-they those ones Der-go-mouth-he-
he began to eat from the boxes they had picked.

-kʷ-ma ŧaX way s-ka-nu-knix-īk-layx-tis
-Quot-Dub that one OK Der-Unr-agent-eat-container-IC-he/them

(93) wix-ł-ana-kʷ cuwāstlqs xlx ʔaskaniqs tu-s-ʔał-
(93) be they-Poss-they-Quot cuwāstlqs xlx ʔaskaniqs NProx-Der-Res-
(93) The berries that had been picked belonged to Cuwāstlqs, Xlx,

-ʔiłcay-tXʷ (94) ʔaa ʔay-s-kʷ-č x-tXʷ s-q̓ʷala-
-pick berries-Dist (94) aah do-he-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-be no more-
and Askaniqs. (94) Aah, what he did then was eat them all

-yuc-s (95) ʔaXʷ-taXʷ ʔayk̓-ap s-ka-puƛ̓-ap cut-kʷ-
-mouth-it (95) Neg-Impv be long time-you Der-Unr-come-you say-Quot-
up. (95) "Don't be gone long," he said.

-i-č̓i-k t̓aX (96) ʔawł-tXʷ-uc-m-tis-kʷ-č
-Contr-Perf that one (96) follow-distant-mouth-MP-he/them-Quot-Perf
(96) He shouted after them.

(97) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k t̓aXʷ (98) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-ma-
(97) Res-do-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf those ones (98) go-he-Quot-Dub-
(97) They did exactly as he said. (98) The raven

-su-č t̓aX ta-qʷaXʷ-tX s-ka-ic-ułank-m-s ʔał-
-Expb-Perf that one NProx-raven-Dist Der-Unr-rub-abdomen-MP-he Prep-
began to rub his stomach with what was left over of the berries he

-ta-s-kʷit̓m-uc-łł-s-tXʷ ʔał-tu-sqaluc-tXʷ (99) ʔic-
-NProx-Der-left over-mouth-DP-he-Dist Prep-NProx-berry-Dist (99) rub-
had eaten. (99) He

-ułank-m-s-kʷ-ma-čn t̓aX (100) ʔał-ʔay-liwa-s-kʷ-č
-abdomen-MP-he-Quot-Dub-Impf that one (100) Res-do-Sim-he-Quot-Perf
rubbed his stomach. (100) It was as if his

x-ti-t̓kʷ-ułank-tx ʔał-tXʷ (101) Xilxus-a-kʷ-č
Prep-Prox-bleed-abdomen-Prox Prep-then (101) appear-they-Quot-Perf
stomach was bleeding then. (101) They appeared then.

tXʷ ʔał-tXʷ (102) ʔay-na-kʷ-č ʔał-tXʷ (103) ʔał-
they Prep-then (102) do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then (103) Res-
(102) They kept on coming. (103) He was

-cack̓ʷ-ał-s-kʷ-c̓ ƛ̓aX ʔał-ta-as-ik-
-straight Redp-conveyance-he-Quot-Perf that one Prep-NProx-Loc-long
stretched out on the bottom of the boat.

-ta-s ta-łalas-tX (104) sm-
horizontal axis-Inst-its NProx-boat-Dist (104) from the beginning-
(104) They started

-ʔuła-na-kʷ-c̓ s-kʷanat-aw ʔał-tXʷ (105) ʔał-na-nix-
-go up to-they-Quot-Perf Der-cry-they Prep-then (105) Res-mourn-LC-
crying right off then. (105) They were

-it-kʷ-c̓ (106) ʔaXʷ-aniii-suu-ku-ks ʔałʔał-ʔay-aaq̓ʷs-aanii-s
-they/him-Quot-Perf (106) Neg- -Expb-Surp-Ind Res Redp-do-color- -its
mourning him. (106) "Cousin's blood isn't usually this color,"

wa-sixsix-aani-s ti-skusłamank cucut-ī-na-kʷ-k̓ʷu
Prox-blood Redp- -his Prox-cousin say Redp-Dim-they-Quot-Usit
they were saying.

ƛaXʷ (107) kʷanat-a-kʷ-c̓n s-ʔał-na-nix-it ti-
those ones (107) cry-they-Quot-Impf Der-Res-mourn-LC-they/him Prox-
(107) They cried as they mourned the deceased.

-ʔał-ʔaƛ̓ma-ƛayx (108) ʔał-ʔay-uc-ī-na-kʷ-c̓ x-ʔac
-Res-die-Prox (108) Res-do-mouth-Dim-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then
(108) This is the way they sang.

(109) nuyamł-a-kʷ-c̓ s-kʷanat-aw s-ʔał-na-nix-it qʷaXʷ
(109) sing-they-Quot-Perf Der-cry-they Der-Res-mourn-LC-they/him raven
(109) They sang as they cried while mourning Raven.

(110) ʔaXʷ-aanii-suu-ku-ks ʔał-ʔay-aaaq̓ʷs-aani-s wa-sixsiiix-aani-s
(110) Neg- -Expb-Surp-Ind Res-do-color- -its Prox-blood Redp- -his
(110) "This isn't the uusual coolor of Cousin's bloood," they were

skusłamaank cucut-ī-na-kʷ-k̓ʷu ƛ̓aXʷ (111) nu-łk̓m-
cousin say Redp-Dim-they-Quot-Usit those ones (111) agent-speak-
saying. (111) He

-ałł-tim̄ut-ī-kʷ-su-tu-ya t̓aX (112) ˀaaw cut-kʷ-
-throat-CRefl-Dim-Quot-Expb-Conf-Incomp that one (112) yes say-Quot-
suddenly made a rumbling sound in his throat. (112) "Yeess," he

-i-č̓i-k t̓aX (113) ˀał-ˀay-kʷ-ma-su ˀał-ti-ˀał-wina
-Contr-Perf that one (113) Res-do-Quot-Dub-Expb Prep-Prox-Res-warrior
said. (113) "It has to be like that when you're in

cut-kʷ-i-č̓i-k t̓aX way (114) tm-ˀał-ˀay-uc-ł-aw-i-
say-Quot-Contr-Perf that one OK (114) just-Res-do-mouth-DP-they-Contr-
a war," he said all right. (114) My old folks would tell it

-lū-k t̓aXʷ way tu-łlk̓ʷlx-ta-łł-c-tXʷ
-Pers those ones OK NProx-old person Redp-Inst-DP-my-Dist
just like that all right when they told the story.

s̄msma-yamk-it (115) way-ma-łū
tell story Redp-Pat-they/it (115) OK-Dub-Pers
(115) I guess that's it for a while.

* * * * * *

Iłixʷani and a Story About the Raven

Okay, I'll tell a story about Iłixʷani from the days of creation.

There were four young people walking in the general direction of upriver. They were not going anywhere in particular. They were just walking. Iłixʷani's son had left his house to go fishing. He liked to fish downriver from his home towards the village the four young people came from. Something must have happened to him for the four young people found his body on their path. They buried the young man on the riverbank where they found him and continued on their way. At the place called Iłixʷani, where the woman Iłixʷani lived they climbed up from the path to her house and went in. It was not too long before she asked whether they had seen her son. They denied having seen her son. The woman turned her blanket inside out and the wind began to blow. The eastwind blew and took some of the young people away with it. As one was being blown away he shouted to the woman, "We saw your son. We saw him."

The old woman calmed down when she heard that. She told the one who had shouted to her to get the bodies of the other young people who had blown away and put them by the fire. When that was done she started dripping something into their noses. She strengthened their breathing and they came back to life and were normal.

That's all there is to that story.

* * * * * *

I'll go one now to another one about Raven.

Raven called to his female relatives. "Come here. Come on and get dressed. I'll take you to a place I know near here that has so many berries you won't know what to do with them." The next morning all his relatives appeared right on time. They were all packed and ready to go. They started out in Raven's boat. They had with them the cedar boxes they use for hunting berries. They went to the spot where Raven had seen the berries and started walking about in the forest.

"Is this the place?" they asked.

"It's higher up." he answered. As soon as they reached the spot where the berries were they started picking. Before very long, each had her basket full and they all returned to the boat. "Hold it. I'm going to take a shit," Raven said, and he got out of the boat. He started around the side of the mountain walking upwards looking for a place to shit.

His female relatives, Cuwāstlqs, Xlx, and Askaniqs, sat in the boat and waited. Raven shat, and when he had finished, began to talk to his shit. "Shit, say 'Invader, invader'" he said. "You say that just before we round that point of land over there." He started back down to the boat. He had called his shit by name in order to get it to say what he wanted it to. Then Raven started rowing. It all happened precisely as planned. As they were just about to round the point, his shit hollered out. "Invader, invader, invader! Say it, shit!" it said.

"Okay. Let's go, let's go! You'd better be thinking of where you're going to run to," he said. His shit was still talking. "Invader, invader! Say it, shit!" it kept repeating.

"Try and hurry up. The one doing the talking must be getting close," Raven said to his relatives. They went into the forest, up the side of the mountain.

When they had disappeared into the forest, Raven began to eat from their berry boxes. He ate everything up. "Don't be gone too long," he shouted to them, and they weren't. Raven began to rub his stomach with the leftover berries, and it looked as if his stomach was bleeding. They appeared, saw his bleeding stomach and right off started crying. They mourned him. They cried as they mourned him. They sang as they cried, mourning Raven.

"This isn't the usual colour of Cousin Raven's blood," they said.

Suddenly Raven made a mumbling, gurgling sound in his throat. "Yeess," he said. "War is like that."

My old folks would tell that story just like that when they told it.

Łułułnimut and the Wolves

(1) way (2) ckʷ-uc-m-c-su-č̓ s-ka-ʔalač̓ī-c ʔal-a-ʔanayk-
(1) OK (2) start-mouth-MP-I-Expb-Perf Der-Unr-tell-I Prep-Prox-want-
(1) OK. (2) I'll start talking again and tell about what these

-m-it ac s-ka-alač̓ī-tutic ʔał-ti-nu-maw ti-
-Tr-they/it these ones Der-Unr-tell-CI/them Prep-Prox-human-one Prox-
people want to hear, about a certain person a long time ago.

-ƛ̓msta-ck ʔal-a-ayk̓ (3) tix-kʷ tX ti-
-person-InfDub Prep-Prox-be long time (3) be he-Quot he Prox-
(3) He's the one who was

-łułułnimut-tum (4) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ t̓aX s-ka-ʔuq̓ʷ-s ʔał-qʷałna
-łułułnimut-CPass (4) go-he-Quot that one Der-Unr-drift-he Prep-qʷałna
named Łułułnimut (4) He started drifting downstream at Kwatna.

(5) ʔissut-ī-s ʔał-tXʷ ...tXuq̓ ʔūł-nunuq̓ʷays (6) ʔumat-s-
(5) row-Dim-he Prep-then ...downriver Prep-nunuq̓ʷays (6) get to-he-
(5) He rowed then ...downriver to Nunuq̓ʷays (6) He got

-kʷ t̓aX ʔał-tXʷ s-issut-ī-s (7) punpuƛ̓-us-kʷ
-Quot that one Prep-then Der-row-Dim-he (7) come Redp-surface-Quot
there rowing. (7) A seal kept sticking

ta-asxʷ-tX ʔał-tu-unikʷ-ī-tXʷ ʔał-tu-
NProx-seal-Dist Prep-NProx-direction away from land-Dim-Dist Prep-NProx-
its head out of the water a little ways out from the beach.

-kuł-ūc-tXʷ (8) puƛ̓-us-kʷ-k̓ʷ t̓aX ʔał-tXʷ
-surface-edge-Dist (8) come-surface-Quot-Usit that one Prep-there
(8) He was coming to the surface there.

(9) ʔał-k̓up-lx-im-kʷ-ma-tu-ku t̓ayx ʔal-a-ac
(9) Res-stalk-Inch-Pass-Quot-Dub-Conf-Surp this one Prep-Prox-here
(9) He must have been being stalked there by the wolves ...

x-a-nucakʷāX-ʔac   ...ta-nanmk̓-tX   ta-ʔasxʷ-tX   (10) ƛ̓ap-s-
Prep-Prox-wolf-Prox ...NProx-animal-Dist NProx-seal-Dist (10) go-he-
that animal, the seal.   (10) The

-kʷ-č̓   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   s-ka-tka-t-is   ɬuɬuɬnimut
-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Der-Unr-shoot-Tr-he/it ɬuɬuɬnimut
man, Łuɬuɬnimut, began to shoot it.

(11) ƛ̓ap-tus   ka-tka-t-is   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (12) nu-pus-m-s
(11) go-Che/it Unr-shoot-Tr-he/it Prep-then (12) agent-grow-MP-it
(11) He shot it then.   (12) The seal floated

ta-asxʷ-tX   (13) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ   tX s-ka-nmp-is   t̓ayx
NProx-seal-Dist (13) go-he-Quot he Der-Unr-put into-he/it this one
up.   (13) He went to put it into the boat.

ʔūɬ-ta-ɬalas-tX   (14) ʔay-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ   s-wix-s-kʷ-tu
Prep-NProx-boat-Dist (14) do-he Prep-then Der-be then-it-Quot-Conf
(14) During the time that he was getting

s-nmp-ay-nix-is   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   ʔuɬ-cnɬ   ʔuɬ-ta-aci-s-tX
Der-put into-Aux-LC-he/it Prep-then Prep-him Prep-NProx-vehicle-his-Dist
it put into his boat there, the wolves appeared on the beach coming

s-Xilxus-timut-a-kʷ-lu-č̓   ta-nucakʷāX-tXʷ ʔaɬ-tu-kuɬ-
Der-appear-CRefl-they-Quot-Expv-Perf NProx-wolf-Dist Prep-NProx-surface-
towards him.

-ūc-tXʷ   ʔuɬ-cnɬ (15) ʔaXʷ-č̓   tay-amk-is   t̓ayx   ti-ʔasxʷ-
-edge-Dist Prep-him (15) Neg-Perf throw-Pat-he/it this one Prox-seal-
(15) He didn't throw this seal to the wolves

-t̓ayx ʔul-a-nucakʷāX-ac   kamaɬ-ʔay-nix-tim-kʷ-k̓ʷu   wa-ƛ̓msta-c
-Prox Prep-Prox-wolf-Prox when-happen-LC-Pass-Quot-Usit Prox-person-Prox
as people would do long ago whenever it happened to them that they

ʔal-a-ayk̓   s-nu-tka yuɬ-ūc-layx-tim
Prep-Prox-be long time Der-agent-shoot-direction-mouth-IC-Pass
shot something first [while someone was trying for it].

(16) ɬk̓m-č̓ ti-ƛ̓msta-tx ʔul-a-nucakʷāX-ac (17) nu-
(16) speak-Perf Prox-person-Prox Prep-Prox-wolf-Prox (17) agent-
(16) The person speaks to the wolves. (17) He

-papq-uc-tis (18) ka-lis-liwa-cut-ap-ma ʔuɬ-ʔnc ka-
-name Redp-mouth-he/them (18) Unr-push-Sim-Refl-you-Dub Prep-me Unr-
addresses them by name. (18) "Perhaps you will relent since I am

-q̓ay-anm-c cut-s-kʷ-č̓ ti-ƛ̓msta-tx s-ʔay-layx-s ʔal-a-
-poor-LCDev-I say-he-Quot-Perf Prox-person-Prox Der-do-IC-he Prep-Prox-
poor," the person would say when he did that long ago around here.

-ayk̓ ʔal-a-axʷa (19) ʔaX-kʷ-i-č̓i-k ay-
-be long time Prep-Prox-surrounding area (19) Neg-Quot-Contr-Perf do-
(19) But the man did not

-uc-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (20) č̓Xmayx-kʷ-lu-č̓ s-tm-nmp-
-mouth-he NProx-person-Dist (20) true-Quot-Expv-Perf Der-just-put into-
do that. (20) He just put it into the boat.

-ɬ-is ʔuɬ-ta-ɬalas-tX (21) ƛ̓ap-s s-ka-ʔissut-s ʔūl-
-Mid-he/it Prep-NProx-boat-Dist (21) go-he Der-Unr-row-he Prep-
(21) He began rowing upriver

-Xɬ ʔaɬ-qʷaɬna (22) ʔaɬ-ʔaawɬ-tXʷ-ank-im-kʷ-ma-lu-
-upriver Prep-qʷaɬna (22) Res-follow-distant-side-Pass-Quot-Dub-Expv-
at Kwatna. (22) The wolves followed alongside him at

-ku-č̓ ƚaX x-tu-nucakʷāX-tXʷ ʔūl-Xɬ s-issut-i-s
-Surp-Perf that one Prep-NProx-wolf-Dist Prep-upriver Der-row-Dim-he
a distance as he rowed upriver.

(23) ʔunikʷ-aɬ-s-č̓ s-nu-kal-ik-
(23) direction away from land-foot-he-Perf Der-internal-meet-internal-
(23) He was traveling out from shore in the middle of the river

-aɬ-ayx-timut-s ʔal-a-ʔanuXʷum-ac ʔaɬ-qʷaɬna (24) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s
-foot-LCRes-CRefl-he Prep-Prox-river-Prox Prep-qʷaɬna (24) Res-do-he
at Kwatna. (24) This

ʔał-tXʷ way s-k̓x-tis-kʷ-k̓ʷ ał-tXʷ ał-tu-kuł-
Prep-then OK Der-see-he/them-Quot-Usit Prep-then Prep-NProx-surface-
is what he was doing, all right, as he saw them every once in a while

-ūc-uc-tXʷ (25) mū s-issut-s ʔał-tXʷ ʔūł-Xł
-edge-edge-Dist (25) more Der-row-he Prep-then Prep-upriver
on the edge of the beach. (25) He rowed upriver some more.

(26) ʔaXʷ-c̓ ʔay-s ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-nu-tay-ūc-tis x-
(26) Neg-Perf do-he Prep-then Der-Unr-agent-throw-mouth-he/them Prep-
(26) He did not throw it...what he had gotten to them then.

-tX ...ta-puƛ̓-ay-nix-is-tX (27) ʔał-ʔawł-tXʷ-ank-im-
-it ...NProx-come-Aux-LC-he/it-Dist (27) Res-follow-distant-side-Pass-
(27) He was followed at a distance

-kʷ-i-lu-k ŧaX ʔūł-tu-suł-aw-tXʷ ʔal-a-waXʷas-
-Quot-Contr-Expv that one Prep-NProx-house-their-Dist Prep-Prox-waXʷas-
all the way to their houses at the place called WaXʷas.

-tum-ʔac (28) waXʷas-tum (29) ʔamat-s wa-suł-aw
-CPass-Prox (28) waXʷas-CPass (29) stay-it Prox-house-their
(28) It was called WaXʷas. (29) That's where those who

ŧaXʷ s-ʔapsuł-aw ʔał-tXʷ (30) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-
those ones Der-live-they Prep-there (30) go-he-Quot-Perf NProx-person-
lived there had their houses. (30) The man started to split up

-tX s-ka-łq̓-is ta-asxʷ-tX (31) łq̓-is ʔał-tXʷ
-Dist Der-Unr-split-he/it NProx-seal-Dist (31) split-he/it Prep-then
the seal. (31) He split it up then.

(32) ʔał-kʷn-is (33) ʔus-txʷ (34) ƛ̓ap-tus ka-qc-
(32) Res-take-he/it (33) Dir-inside (34) go-Che/it Unr-put into
(32) He took it. (33) He went inside. (34) He went to put the

-amk-is ta-tpy-us-łł-tX ʔał-ta-
water-Pat-he/it NProx-one of a pair-facing surface-DP-Dist Prep-NProx-
other half into the water.

-qla-tX (35) sXp-alāqt-n-is ał-tXʷ (36) wix-s s-
-water-Dist (35) tieup-connection-MP-he/it Prep-then (36) be it-it Der-
(35) He put a rope on it then. (36) Because it

-ka-p̓ĭXla-tum si-ʔay-tus x-tXʷ (37) ʔał-kʷn-is t̓ayx
-Unr-drift-CPass Der-do-Che/it Prep-then (37) Res-take-he/it this one
might drift off is the reason he did that. (37) He took the other

ti-tpy-us-łł-t̓ayx (38) kūkʷ-is ʔał-ta-
Prox-one of a pair-facing surface-DP-Prox (38) cook-he/it Prep-NProx-
half. (38) He cooked it inside

-ʔas-txʷ-tXʷ (39) ʔay-s ʔał-tXʷ way (40) mū-naw s-
-Loc-inside-Dist (39) do-he Prep-then OK (40) more-they Der-
his house. (39) He did it, all right. (40) The wolves moved

-Xul-cut-aw tu-nucakʷāX-tXʷ ʔuł-tu-kułič̓-s tu-suł-
-approach-Refl-they NProx-wolf-Dist Prep-NProx-side-its NProx-house-
closer to the sides of their houses when night came.

-aw-tXʷ s-č̓us-m-s ʔał-tXʷ (41) ʔay-naw s-ʔanu-suspt-
-their-Dist Der-dark-MP-it Prep-then (41) do-they Der-Cont-whistle
(41) The wolves' anuses

-uł-āX-a-kʷ-č̓n t̓aXʷ (42) ʔanu-suspt-
Redp-distributed-bottom-they-Quot-Impf those ones (42) Cont-whistle
were whistling. (42) The wolves

-uł-āX-timut-a-kʷ tu-nucakʷāX-tXʷ (43) ʔał-
Redp-distributed-bottom-CRefl-they-Quot NProx-wolf-Dist (43) Res-
were making their anuses whistle. (43) They

-ʔaxʷsnix-it-č̓ ał-ta-s-nƛ̓-tX (44) Xim-s ʔal-a
-hear-they/it-Perf Prep-NProx-Der-night-Dist (44) dawn-it Prep-Prox-
heard this at night. (44) Dawn came then.

-ac (45) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ t̓ayx s-k-awq̓aw-cut-s
-then (45) go-he-Quot-Perf this one Der-Unr-pack Redp-Refl-he
(45) He began to pack up.

(46) nu-cxm-uc-a-kʷ-č̓ ta-ałi-tXʷ
(46) agent-disappear-mouth-they-Quot-Perf NProx-be in a location-Dist
(46) The ones who were at their place during the night fell

ʔaɬ-cnkʷ ʔaɬ-ta-ʔnƛ̓-tXʷ (47) ʔawq̓aw-cut-s-kʷ ta-
Prep-them Prep-NProx-nighttime-Dist (47) pack Redp-Refl-he-Quot NProx-
silent. (47) The man packed up to go

-ƛ̓msta-tX s-ka-k̓x-ank-nm-s (48) k̓x-ank-nm-kʷ-čn
-person-Dist Der-Unr-see-side-LCDev-he (48) see-side-LCDev-Quot-Impf
check his traps. (48) He went to check his

ɬ̓ayx (49) ƛ̓ap-s-tu-č̓ ɬ̓ayx ʔūl-Xɬ s-ka-issut-s
this one (49) go-he-Conf-Perf this one Prep-upriver Der-Unr-row-he
traps. (49) He started out again rowing upriver then towards

ʔaɬ-tXʷ ʔūl-a-ʔamat-s a-k̓m-aɬ-ta-s aɬ-tXʷ
Prep-then Prep-Prox-stay-it Prox-bite-foot-Inst-his Prep-then
where his traps were located.

(50) ʔum-s (51) ʔum-s s-ka-k̓x-is a-k̓m-aɬ-
(50) get out-he (51) get out-he Der-Unr-see-he/it Prox-bite-foot-
(50) He got out. (51) He got out to see his traps there.

-ta-s aɬ-tXʷ (52) ʔaɬ-k̓up-lx-im-kʷ-ma-lu-ku-č̓
-Inst-his Prep-there (52) Res-stalk-Inch-Pass-Quot-Dub-Expv-Surp-Perf
(52) He must have been stalked by the wolves

ɬ̓ayx x-a-nucakʷāX-ac ʔaɬ-tXʷ (53) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s x-tXʷ way
this one Prep-Prox-wolf-Prox Prep-there (53) Res-do-he Prep-then OK
there. (53) What he had done, all

s-ʔixix-q̓m-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ uɬ-ta-ʔaƛ̓s-
Der-Distb Redp-step-he Prep-then Prep-NProx-direction away from water-
right, was to walk off away from the water when he began to be

-i-tXʷ s-ƛ̓ap-ak-m-im s-ka-tas-im (54) tm-tas-ɬ-
-Dim-Dist Der-go-hand-MP-Pass Der-Unr-bump-Pass (54) just-bump-Mid-
bumped. (54) The man was

-im-kʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (55) k̓-aX-kʷ-ku-ks Xm-im
-Pass-Quot NProx-person-Dist (55) Contr-Neg-Quot-Surp-Indv bite-Pass
just bumped. (55) But he was not bitten.

(56) č̓Xłmayx s-tm-tas-ł-im ʔał-tXʷ (57) qup̓-uł-
(56) true Der-just-bump-Mid-Pass Prep-then (57) punch-direction-
(56) He was really just bumped then. (57) The man got

-ayx-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (58) nu-siq̓-m-nāXāX-kʷ-i-
-LCRes-he NProx-person-Dist (58) place-split-MP-bottom Redp-Quot-Contr-
knocked down. (58) It was in the fork of a tree where

-č̓i-k wa-umat-s-kʷ-ma-č̓ t̓aX (59) tmp-
-Perf Prox-get to-he-Quot-Dub-Perf that one (59) caught in something-
he ended up. (59) He got caught

-nalus-ayx-s ʔał-tXʷ (60) ʔat̓ma-s-č̓ ał-tXʷ (61) kamał-
-between-LCRes-he Prep-there (60) die-he-Perf Prep-then (61) when-
between them there. (60) He died then. (61) As soon

-ʔat̓ma-nix-it-kʷ-m-i-lu-č̓i-k ʔał-tXʷ s-wal-im-č̓ x-
-die- Intr-LC-they/him-Dub-Contr-Expv-Perf Prep-then Der-leave-Pass-Perf Prep-
as they thought he was dead he was left by them.

-tXʷ (62) č̓Xmayx-kʷ a-ʔał-ʔay-s x-ti-ya-tx ta-kuł-
-them (62) true-Quot Der-Res-do-it Prep-Prox-good-Prox NProx-surface-
(62) It was just like the ground around was smoothed out and

-ulmx-łł-tX (63) ya-lx-ulmx-s wix-s s-ʔał-ay-s ti-
-earth-DP-Dist (63) good-Inch-earth-it be it-it Der-Res-do-it Prox-
cleared. (63) The ground was cleared because there were so many

-slaX-aw ta-nucakʷāX ta-ʔumat-ayx-s-tXʷ (64) ʔał-taam-k̓x-
-many-they NProx-wolf NProx-get to-LCRes-he-Dist (64) Res-make-see-
wolves that had gotten to him. (64) He was

-im-č̓ x-ta-stam-ƛ̓msta-s-tXʷ (65) ʔal-a-wayx-ī
-Pass-Perf Prep-NProx-co-person-his-Dist (65) Prep-Prox-be a time-Dim
expected back by his neighbors. (65) It was a short time ago

ʔac s-ʔay-tum t̓ayx (66) cix ʔiɬ ci-
these things Der-happen-CPass this one (66) be she she Prox-
that this happened to him. (66) His wife who was

-ʔaɬkusyuyutm-tum ʔiɬ-xnas-s-ʔiɬ ci-ʔaɬi ʔaɬ-tXʷ
-ʔaɬkusyuyutm-CPass NProx-wife-his-Dist Prox-be in a location Prep-there
there was the one called Aɬkusyuyutm and the man who was called

ʔn ta-ʔanusik̓mlayx-tum-tX ti-nu-maw ti-ʔaɬi
and NProx-ʔanusik̓mlayx-CPass-Dist Prox-human-one Prox-be in a location
Anusik̓mlayx was one who was there.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (67) calȧctī-na-kʷ ac s-q̓s-aw
Prep-there (67) young child Pl-they-Quot these ones Der-extreme-they
(67) They were really teenagers then.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ (68) ʔanusik̓mlayx ti-aɬi aɬ-tXʷ
Prep-then (68) ʔanusik̓mlayx Prox-be in a location Prep-there
(68) One who was there was Anusik̓mlayx.

(69) nusīxta (70) slaX-aw wa-amat aɬ-tXʷ
(69) nusīxta (70) many-they Prox-stay Prep-there
(69) Nusīxta (was there). (70) There were many who were there.

(71) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ ʔac s-ka-ʔawq̓aw-cut-aw s-
(71) go-they-Quot-Perf these ones Der-Unr-pack up Redp-Refl-they Der-
(71) They began to pack up when it got light in order to go search

-Xim-s s-ka-ixās-nix-it ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (72) ʔaX-kʷ-
-dawn-it Der-Unr-search-LC-they/him NProx-person-Dist (72) Neg-Quot-
for the man. (72) Perhaps

-m-i-č̓i-k ʔimaɬt-n-is ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ta-ɬalas-s-tX
-Dub-Contr-Perf tie up-MP-he/it NProx-person-Dist NProx-boat-his-Dist
the man had not tied up his boat.

(73) tm-nu-ks-āX-ɬ-is-kʷ-ma-lu-č̓ ʔaɬ-tu-
(73) just-agent-pull-bottom-Mid-he/it-Quot-Dub-Expv-Perf Prep-NProx-
(73) Maybe he had just pulled it onto the beach.

-kuł-ūc-tXʷ (74) tix-ʔi-c̓i-k t̓ayx ti-si-ʔałnap-it-
-surface-edge-Dist (74) be it-Contr-Perf this Prox-Der-know-they/it-
(74) This (the boat) was how they knew that

-c̓n t̓aXʷ t̓ayx s-ay-ał-s ʔał-tXʷ ul-aƛ̓s
-Impf those ones this one Der-do-foot-he Prep-there Prep-direction
he had walked inland there where his boat was.

ʔal-a-amat-us ta-łalas-s-tX (75) ƛ̓ap-aw-
away from water Prep-Prox-stay-surface NProx-boat-his-Dist (75) go-they-
(75) They

-c̓ s-ka-ix-q̓m-aw s-ka-ixās-nix-it (76) ʔaX-kʷ-
-Perf Der-Unr-Distb-step-they Der-Unr-search-LC-they/him (76) Neg-Quot-
started to walk about looking for him. (76) They had

-i-lu-k iXʷ-anm-aw ʔal-aƛ̓s ʔał-tXʷ
-Contr-Expv far-LCDev-they Prep-direction away from water Prep-there
not gotten far inland there when they saw him.

s-k̓x-it (77) ʔamat-ak-m-im s-wnc̓-im x-ta-nucakʷāX-
Der-see-they/him (77) stay-hand-MP-Pass Der-kill-Pass Prep-NProx-wolf-
(77) He was there where he was left when he was killed

-tXʷ (78) ʔay-naw-c̓ ʔał-tXʷ s-ʔixixās-nix-it
-Dist (78) do-they-Perf Prep-then Der-search Redp-LC-they/him
by the wolves. (78) They were walking about looking for him then

s-ka-k̓x-it ʔał-tu-ʔas-ik-nalus-s tu-stn-tXʷ
Der-Unr-see-they/him Prep-NProx-Loc-middle-between-its NProx-tree-Dist
when they saw him in among the trees.

(79) tmp-nalus-ayx-s ʔał-tXʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
(79) get caught in something-between-LCRes-he Prep-there NProx-person-Dist
(79) The man had gotten caught among them there.

(80) c̓Xmayx s-ʔał-ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓ x-tXʷ s-sk̓x-lx-līc-s
(80) true Der-Res-do-he-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-black-Inch-skin-he
(80) He has actually turned black then.

(81) qʷilac-m-s-c̓ ta-kʷst-s-tXʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
(81) bruise-MP-he-Perf NProx-body-his-Dist NProx-person-Dist
(81) The man's whole body was bruised.

(82) pus-m-likt-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓aX (83) k̓-aX-kʷ-
(82) grow-MP-completely-he-Quot-Perf that one (83) Contr-Neg-Quot-
(82) He was all swollen up. (83) And there was

-tū q̓aw-ɬ-ayx-s t̓aX x-ti-s-q̓ɬkʷ aɬ-
-NContr put away-body-LCRes-he that one Prep-NProx-Der-clothes Prep-
not enough clothes to wrap him up in then.

-tXʷ (84) c̓Xmayx-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k t̓aX s-tm-q̓aw-ɬ-
-then (84) true-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf that one Der-just-put away-body-
(84) Actually, he was just wrapped up in blankets there.

-im aɬ-tXʷ x-a-ic̓amn-ī (85) tm-us-kʷƛ̓-anɬ-im-
-Pass Prep-there Prep-Prox-blanket-Dim (85) just-Dir-put-covering-Pass-
(85) He was just covered with

-c̓ x-tu-s-q̓ɬkʷlkʷ-nūlī-tXʷ (86) puƛ̓-aw-c̓ aɬ-
-Perf Prep-NProx-Der-clothes Redp-Dim-Dist (86) come-they-Perf Prep-
the clothing he had. (86) Then the ones who

-tXʷ ul-a-āxʷa wa-is-q̓aw-ɬ-ta-ɬp
-then Prep-Prox-surrounding area Prox-go for-put away-body-Inst-body
went for the funeral clothing came here.

x-tXʷ aɬ-tXʷ (87) ʔakʷa-naw ʔaɬ-tXʷ (88) sʔaymis s-
Prep-then Prep-there (87) buy-they Prep-then (88) always Der-
(87) They made purchases then. (88) The people

-ʔaɬ-ʔay-naw x-tXʷ tu-ƛ̓msta aɬ-t̓aXʷ aɬ-ta-ʔayk̓-
-Res-do-they Prep-then NProx-person Prep-there Prep-NProx-be long time-
there a long time ago always did that out there at this time of

-t̓aXʷ aɬ-tu-ʔunikʷ-t̓aXʷ al-a-alx-ac
-Mid Prep-NProx-direction away from land-Mid Prep-Prox-same time-Prox
year.

(89) ƛ̓ap-uks s-ka-q̓ʷXʷ-m-s (90) ʔał-ay-s x-ac
(89) go-Pl Der-Uṇr-move-MP-he (90) Res-do-he Prep-these things
(89) They each start to travel. (90) Each did like that then.

(91) ʔaƛ̓a-yuks-aw x-a-s-aƛ̓-aw-c
(91) build canoe-Pl-they Prep-Prox-Der-build canoe-their-Prox
(91) They build their own canoes.

(92) ʔay-s ʔay-s a-ks-tut ał-tXʷ (93) kał-nanmk̓-uks-
(92) do-he do-he Prox-fix-Cthey/it Prep-then (93) hunt for-animal-Pl-
(92) They made whatever they wanted then. (93) And those who

-aw ta-ał-ʔay-nam-i-č̓i-k-tū t̓aXʷ ał-tXʷ
-they NProx-Res-do-LCDev-Contr-Perf-NContr those ones Prep-then
did likewise went out hunting then.

(94) ʔay-tum ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (95) ʔaw (96) q̓aw-im-č̓
(94) do-CPass NProx-person-Dist (95) yes (96) put away-Pass-Perf
(94) The man was taken care of. (95) Yes. (96) He was buried

t̓ayx ał-tXʷ ʔuł-ti-nu-s-ʔayk̓-sta-t̓ayx ʔał-
this one Prep-then Prep-Prox-place-Der-be long time-Inst-Prox Prep-
then in the graveyard at Kwatna.

-qʷałna (97) way
-qʷałna (97) OK
(97) OK.

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Łułułnimut and the Wolves

Well, I'm going to tell a story about Łułułnimut. He was a very popular story hero a long time ago.

Łułułnimut was drifting in front of Kwatna one day. After a while he rowed his boat downriver to a place called Nunuqʷaqs. When he got there he noticed a seal who kept sticking his head up out of the water. The seal was only a little ways out from the beach. He kept surfacing there, always looking to shore as if he was being stalked by wolves. Łułułnimut rowed closer so he could get a shot off at the seal. He managed to hit it and the seal floated up to the surface. As he was trying to get the seal into his boat, some wolves appeared on the beach coming his way. It seemed like they had been stalking the seal all along. It was the custom in those days that if a hunter came upon and shot an animal that was already being tracked by another hunter, he would give up the food to the original hunter. The same thing was true even if the original hunter was an animal such as a wolf. Sometimes, instead of giving up food to wolves, a hunter would speak to them, saying, "I am poor. Forgive me but I must have this food."

But Łułułnimut followed neither custom and without saying a word hauled the seal into his boat. He began to row upriver. The wolves kept pace with him on the shore. Łułułnimut kept his boat in the middle of the river. Every once in a while he would spot the wolves following him on the shore. He continued upriver and they followed him all the way to a place called WaXʷas, where the man beached his boat and started to butcher the seal. He split it in two, taking one half into a house there. He came out and put the other half into the river tying it to a rope so it would not drift off. Inside the house he cooked the other half of the seal.

The wolves came right up to the sides of the house when night came. They made whistling noises with their assholes. They kept this up all night, but when daybreak came they fell silent.

In the morning, Łułułnimut packed up his things to go check his trapline. He set out upriver to where his traps were. He beached his boat and began to walk away from the beach towards his trapline when he began to be bumped from side to side and from front and back. It must have been the wolves who had been stalking him. But they didn't bite him. The bumping continued until the man got knocked down and was caught up in the forked branches of a young tree. He couldn't get free and he died.

As soon as they thought he was dead, the wolves left. There were so many of them that the ground around the tree was cleared and all smoothed out.

Back at his home, Łułułnimut's family and neighbours were waiting for him to return. There was his wife Ałkusyuyutm and some neighbours such as Anusikmlayx and Nusīxta and a bunch of teenagers. When he didn't appear they waited for the next daylight to start the search for him. They found his boat beached on the shore and knew that he had walked inland to check his traps. They came ashore and started to search for him. They didn't have to go far before they saw him caught up in the tree. By that time his body had turned black. It was all bruised and had swollen up. They didn't have enough cloth to wrap him up in so they just used some blankets. Some of the people went off to buy some proper funeral clothing and brought them back. They saw to it that he had a proper funeral. Łułułnimut was brought back and buried in the graveyard at Kwatna.

Almci and the Wolves

(1) way alač̓ī-c-su-č̓ (2) way ʔalač̓ī-c x-ɬayx ...
(1) OK tell-I-Expb-Perf (2) OK tell-I Prep-this one ...
(1) OK, I'll tell another story. (2) OK, I'll tell about this person ...

ʔaɬ-ti-ʔalmci-tum-ck (3) k̓x-ank-nm-a-kʷ ɬaXʷ
Prep-Prox-ʔalmci-CPass-InfDub (3) see-side-LCDev-they-Quot those ones
about a man called Almci. (3) Those people went from Kwatna

wixɬɬ-qʷaɬna ʔūɬ-txuɬ-c ...ʔūɬ-q̓usalq (4) wix-kʷ
Prep-qʷaɬna Prep-toward-there...Prep-q̓usalq (4) be there-Quot
checking their traps in the direction of...Q̓usalq. (4) That was where

tXʷ si-k̓x-it ta-asxʷ-tX s-pumpuƛ̓-us ʔaɬ-ta-
there Der-see-they/it NProx-seal-Dist Der-come Redp-surface Prep-NProx-
they saw a seal that kept on popping up in the water alongside the

-qla-tXʷ al-a-kuɬ-als ta-smt-tX (5) ʔaɬ-k̓up-
-water-Dist Prep-Prox-surface-side NProx-mountain-Dist (5) Res-stalk-
mountain. (5) The seal

-lx-im-kʷ-ma-tu-ku tX x-ta-nucakʷāX-tXʷ ...ta-asxʷ-tX
-Inch-Pass-Quot-Dub-Conf-Surp it Prep-NProx-wolf-Dist ...NProx-seal-Dist
was being stalked as well by the wolves.

(6) pacaɬ-am-kʷ-i-č̓i-k ta-nucakʷāX-tX s-sq̓ʷ-s uɬ-tX
(6) be first-CD-Quot-Contr-Perf NProx-wolf-Dist Der-jump-he Prep-it
(6) This wolf was the first to get to it.

(7) ʔaX-kʷ-č̓ tka-yay-nix-is ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ...ti-ʔalmci-
(7) Neg-Quot-Perf shoot-Aux-LC-he/it NProx-person-Dist ...Prox-ʔalmci-
(7) The man...the one called Almci could not get a shot at it.

-tum (8) ʔaɬ-ʔaay-na-kʷ-č̓ ac s-ʔaɬ-xʷla-naw ʔaɬ-
-CPass (8) Res-do-they-Quot-Perf these ones Der-Res-fight-they Prep-
(8) What they were doing was fighting in the water...the

-ta-qla-tXʷ ...ta-nanmk̓-tX ʔn ta-asxʷ-tX (9) ʔaɬ-
-NProx-water-Dist ...NProx-animal-Dist and NProx-seal-Dist (9) Res-
animal and the seal. (9) They

-xʷla-na-kʷ-č̓ ʔaɬ-tXʷ (10) ʔal-a-wayx-ī-kʷ-č̓
-fight-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then (10) Prep-Prox-be a time-Dim-Quot-Perf
fought then. (10) In a little while it killed the

s-ʔaɬ̓ma-nix-is ɬ̓aX ta-asxʷ-tX (11) ʔixix-qlam-tus-
Der-die-LC-it/it that one NProx-seal-Dist (11) Distb Redp-swim-Cit/it-
seal. (11) He swam with it.

-kʷ-č̓ (12) kuɬ-ūc-am (13) ʔaɬ-lXʷ-it-kʷ-č̓
-Quot-Perf (12) surface-edge-CD (13) Res-watch-they/it-Quot-Perf
(12) He got to the beach. (13) They watched him.

(14) ʔaɬ-lXʷ-it-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k ɬ̓aXʷ way s-
(14) Res-watch-they/it-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf those ones all right Der-
(14) They watched him, all right, as he dragged it onto the beach.

-ʔaɬ-iks-is-č̓ ʔaɬ-tu-kuɬ-ūc-tXʷ (15) ʔaƛ̓s-
-Res-drag away-it/it-Perf Prep-NProx-surface-edge-Dist (15) direction
(15) He carried

-anm-ī-tus-kʷ-tu ʔaɬ-tu-kuɬ-ūc-tXʷ
away from water-LCDev-Dim-Cit/it-Quot-Conf Prep-NProx-surface-edge-Dist
it a little way on the beach away from the water where he dug a hole

s-nu-cīX-is (16) ʔaɬ-q̓usalq ...q̓usalq-kʷ wa-ʔamat-s
Der-agent-dig a hole-it/it (16) Prep-q̓usalq ...q̓usalq-Quot Prox-stay-it
for it. (16) At Q̓usalq...it was at Q̓usalq where they

ʔac (17) ʔay-s-kʷ-č̓ aɬ-tXʷ s-nu-cīX-is
these ones (17) do-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-agent-dig a hole-it/it
were. (17) What he did was to dig a hole for it then.

(18) q̓lum-s-kʷ-č̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX s-ʔaɬ-lXʷ-is
(18) climb-he-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Der-Res-watch-he/it
(18) The man climbed up to watch him.

(19) wix-k̓ʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k s-cay-ak-s ta-nucakʷāX-tX
(19) be then-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf Der-finish-hand-it NProx-wolf-Dist
(19) When the wolf finished, he buried it all right.

s-nu-cīX-is ŧaX way (20) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-
Der-agent-dig a hole-it/it that one OK (20) go-it-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-
(20) He went to invite the

-q̓uX-likʷ-s (21) q̓uX-likʷ-ma-lu-č̓ x-tXʷ
-invite-everyone-it (21) invite-everyone-Dub-Expv-Perf Prep-then
others. (21) He went to invite all the others then.

(22) ˀay-s-kʷ-č̓ ał-tXʷ way s-ˀiˀyum-s-kʷ-č̓ ˀał-ta-
(22) do-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then OK Der-howl-it-Quot-Perf Prep-NProx-
(22) What he did then was to howl a little way off from them.

-iXʷ-i-tXʷ ˀał-cnkʷ (23) ƛ̓ap-tus-kʷ-č̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
-far-Dim-Dist Prep-them (23) go-Che/it-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist
(23) The man went to take the seal from

ta-ˀasxʷ-tX s-ka-ks-is ˀał-ta-amat-s-tXʷ s-ˀanu-
NProx-seal-Dist Der-Unr-pull-he/it Prep-NProx-stay-it-Dist Der-Cont-
the place it had been buried in.

-cīX-s (24) ƛ̓ap-tus-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-kaw-is ˀūł-ta-łalas-
-bury-it (24) go-Che/it-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-carry-he/it Prep-NProx-boat-
(24) He took it to the boat.

-tX (25) Xl-tus-kʷ-č̓ ta-nu-maw-s-tX s-
-Dist (25) tell to go-Che/him-Quot-Perf NProx-human-one-his-Dist Der-
(25) He told the one who was with him to go out a way from land

-ka-ix-p̓īXla-timut-s ˀał-ta-unikʷ-tXʷ s-
-Unr-Distb-drift-CRefl-he Prep-NProx-direction away from land-Dist Der-
and drift about while he saw whether it (the wolf) would be killed by the

-ka-ał-k̓x-im x-tX ka-wnč̓-im ˀał-tXʷ x-tu-nucakʷāX-tXʷ
-Unr-Res-see-Pass Prep-him Unr-kill-Pass Prep-then Prep-NProx-wolf-Dist
(other) wolves.

(26) q̓lum-s-kʷ ʔaɬ-ta-stn-tX aɬ-tXʷ ti-ʔalmci-tum
(26) climb-he-Quot Prep-NProx-tree-Dist Prep-then Prox-ʔalmci-CPass
(26) The man called Almci then climbed a tree.

(27) ƛ̓ap-s (28) ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-k̓ ayk̓-m-ī-s t̓aX
(27) go-he (28) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv be long time-MP-Dim-he that one
(27) He went. (28) He had not climbed up there long when the...the...

ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-ʔaɬ-q̓lum-s s-ʔiʔyum-s-kʷ ta-ta-ta-nucakʷāX-tX
Prep-then Der-Res-climb-he Der-howl-it-Quot NProx-NProx-NProx-wolf-Dist
the wolf howled.

(29) ʔiʔyum-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓aX (30) ʔal-a-aXʷ-ayk̓-ī-
(29) howl-it-Quot-Perf that one (30) Prep-Prox-Neg-be long time-Dim-
(29) He howled. (30) It was not long before the wolves

-kʷ s-puƛ̓-uks-a-kʷ-lu-c̓ tu-nucakʷāX-tXʷ ʔul-a-kuɬ-
-Quot Der-come-Pl-they-Quot-Expv-Perf NProx-wolf-Dist Prep-Prox-surface-
came from all directions to the side of the one that was buried.

-ank-s ta-ʔanu-cīX-tX (31) ʔanu-sqc̓ tX ʔaɬ-tu-kuɬ-
-side-its NProx-Cont-bury-Dist (31) Cont-sand it Prep-NProx-surface-
(31) It was in the ground covered over

-ulmx-tXʷ (32) ta-slaX ta-ʔaɬ-q̓uX-kʷ ta-nucakʷāX-tXʷ
-earth-Dist (32) NProx-many NProx-Res-invite-Quot NProx-wolf-Dist
with sand. (32) There were many wolves that were invited.

(33) ʔaayk̓-kʷ-i-c̓i-k ti-s-maw aɬ-tXʷ s-ka-
(33) be long time-Quot-Contr-Perf Prox-Der-one Prep-then Der-Unr-
(33) One of them was a long time in getting there.

-c̓kt-s (34) tix-kʷ-ma tX ti-staltmx-ta-naw wa-nucakʷāX-ac
-arrive-it (34) be it-Quot-Dub it Prox-chief-Inst-their Prox-wolf-Prox
(34) He must have been the one who was chief of the wolves.

(35) ʔaɬ-tplq̓-ak-kʷ t̓aX x-ti-c̓Xʷ ta-
(35) Res-turn inside out-hand-Quot that one Prep-Prox-white NProx-
(35) The animal had a white stripe on its paw.

-nanmk̓-tX   (36) wix-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-ka   tXʷ   s-ƛ̓ap-ak-s
-animal-Dist (36) be then-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf then Der-go-hand-it
(36) Then he began trying to dig up what it was

t̓aX   s-ka-ka-   ...-ka-cīX-is-kʷ-alu-c̓   ta-aɬ-
that one Der-Unr-Unr-...-Unr-dig a hole-it/it-Quot-Att-Perf NProx-Res-
that he had caught.

-puƛ̓-ayx-s-tX   (37) ʔaX-kʷ-c̓   ʔaɬi-s   ʔaɬ-ta-
-come-LCRes-it-Dist (37) Neg-Quot-Perf be in a location-it Prep-NProx-
(37) It was not in the place he had left it when

-amat-s-tus-tXʷ   s-ʔanu-cīX-s   (38) ca-lx-liwa-m-is-
-stay-it-Cit/it-Dist Der-Cont-bury-it (38) finish-Inch-Sim-Tr-it/it-
it was buried.   (38) He gave up digging around

-kʷ-c̓   aɬ-tXʷ   s-cicq-is-alu-c̓   ʔaɬ-tXʷ
-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-dig a hole Redp-it/it-Att-Perf Prep-then
for it then.

(39) ʔay-s-kʷ-c̓   aɬ-tXʷ   s-ka-ʔmt-s   ta-nucakʷāX-tX   ʔaɬ-
(39) do-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-Unr-sit-it NProx-wolf-Dist Prep-
(39) What the wolf did then was to sit down.

-tXʷ   (40) tix-kʷ-i-lu-c̓i-k   t̓aX   ti-pacaɬ-c̓   ti-
-then (40) be it-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf that one Prox-first-Perf Prox-
(40) The one that had the white stripe on its paw was the first

-aɬ-tplq̓-ak-kʷ-t̓ayx   x-ti-c̓Xʷ   (41) ti-pacaɬ
-Res-turn inside out-hand-Quot-Prox Prep-Prox-white (41) Prox-first
one.   (41) He was the

ti-Xm-t-kʷ-c̓   ta-nucakʷāX-tX   (42) ƛ̓ap-tum-kʷ-c̓   t̓ayx
Prox-bite-it/it-Quot-Perf NProx-wolf-Dist (42) go-CPass-Quot-Perf this
first one to bite the wolf.   (42) He began to be thrown

s-ka-anu-tay-amk-ūc-m-im   x-ta-nucakʷāX-tXʷ   ...s-
one Der-Unr-Cont-throw-Pat-mouth-MP-Pass Prep-NProx-wolf-Dist ...Der-
from mouth to mouth by the wolves...until he was all gone.

-q̓ʷala-s   ł̓aX   (43) wix-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-ka   tXʷ   s-kł-
-be no more-it   that one   (43) be then-Quot-Contr-Expv-   then   Der-drop-
Perf
(43) That was when the man came down from

-īXʷ-s-č̓   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   (44) kł-īXʷ-s-kʷ-č̓   ta-
-head-he-Perf   NProx-person-Dist   (44) drop-head-he-Quot-Perf   NProx-
the tree.   (44) The man came down from the

-ƛ̓msta-tX   (45) lip̓-cut-s-kʷ-č̓   ʔuł-ta-nu-maw-s-tX
-person-Dist   (45) return-Refl-he-Quot-Perf   Prep-NProx-human-one-his-Dist
tree.   (45) He went back to the one he was with.

(46) ʔaw   (47) ʔalač̓ī-tus-kʷ-č̓   s-ʔał-ʔay-s   ʔał-tXʷ
(46) yes   (47) tell-Che/him-Quot-Perf   Der-Res-happen-it   Prep-then
(46) Yes.   (47) He told him what had happened then.

(48) ʔał-lXʷ-ay-nix-tis-kʷ-č̓   ł̓aX   wa-nucakʷāX
(48) Res-watch-Aux-LC-he/them-Quot-Perf   that one   Prox-wolf
(48) He managed to watch the wolves.

(49) ʔał-ʔay-tutim   s-ʔał-ʔay-naw   s-puƛ̓-ay-layx-aw   (50) tm-
(49) Res-do-CPass   Der-Res-do-they   Der-come-Aux-IC-they   (50) just-
(49) That's what they do to get what they need.   (50) He

-ʔanayk-ł-kʷ   s-ka-ał-lXʷ-is   ʔał-tXʷ   (51) ʔał-ʔay-uc-
-want-Mid-Quot   Der-Unr-Res-watch-he/it   Prep-then   (51) Res-do-mouth-
just wanted to observe it then.   (51) That's how

-aw-k̓ʷu   x-ac   way   ł̓aXʷ   s-ʔalač̓ī-naw   ʔał-
-they-Usit   Prep-these things   all right   those ones   Der-tell-they   Prep-
they would talk about these things all right, when they'd tell about

-ti-tix-kʷ   ti-almci-tum-ck   (52) nu-ks-uc-tis
-Prox-be he-Quot   Prox-almci-CPass-InfDub   (52) agent-pull-mouth-he/them
the man who was called Almci.   (52) He took the food these

a-nucakʷāX-ac   x-ta-ał-puƛ̓-ayx-s-tX   (53) way-łū
Prox-wolf-Prox   Prep-NProx-Res-come-LCRes-it-Dist   (53) OK-Pers
wolves had caught away from them.   (53) That's all for now.

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Almci and the Wolves

There was this man named Almci who set out with a companion from Kwatna to check his traps on the way to Qusalq. It was there at Qusalq that they spotted a seal playing in the water close by the side of a mountain. The men could see that the seal was being stalked by a wolf. Almci couldn't get a shot at the wolf and could only watch as the wolf jumped into the shallow water and attacked the seal. The seal was completed surprised and was killed by the wolf after a brief struggle. The wolf swam to shore with the seal;Almci and his companion watched. The wolf dragged the seal up the beach, dug a hole and buried it. Then he went off a little ways and began to howl. He was calling the rest of the wolf-pack to a feast. While the wolf was calling to the others to come and eat, Almci and his companion came ashore, dug up the seal and carried it back to their boat. His companion took the boat a bit offshore while Almci climbed a tree to wait and see what was going to happen next. The boat was drifting offshore when the first of the wolves began to appear. They came from all directions and soon there were many of them waiting around the howling wolf-host. Finally a wolf with a white stripe on his paw appeared. He was taking his own time in coming to the feast. He seemed to be the leader of the pack. As soon as the leader was settled, the wolf host went to the spot where he had buried the seal and tried to dig it up, except that the seal was no longer there. It was gone. The wolf kept digging frantically, but it was no use--the seal was gone. Finally, the wolf host sat down and waited quietly. Suddenly the leader of the pack rushed at him and bit him savagely. This was a signal to the other wolves to attack, and they did, ripping pieces of flesh and fur from the victim. He didn't fight back, he just let them do what they were doing. They ripped him apart until there was nothing left of him.

When they had left, Almci climbed down from the tree and returned to his companion. He told him what he had seen.

That's the story the old people told. This was their story about Almci, the man who stole the food for the wolves' feast.

Almci, Q̓āklis and the Puq̓ʷs

(1) way tix-su-č̓ tx ti-s-cay-uł-tx x-ac
(1) OK be he-Expb-Perf he Prox-Der- -direction-Prox Prep-these
(1) He...Almci, was also the one who told about these things.

...ʔalmci (2) cīX-m-layx-s-ck łaX ał-čiqʷi
things ...ʔalmci (2) dig a hole-MP-IC-he-InfDub that one Prep-čiqʷi
(2) He (Almci) was digging (clams) at Čiqʷi.

(3) cīX-m-nix-tis-kʷ łaX a-puq̓ʷs-tutim (4) nu-
(3) dig a hole-MP-LC-he/them-Quot that one Prox-puq̓ʷs-CPass (4) human-
(3) He thought he heard the ones called Puq̓ʷs digging. (4) There

-łnūs-a-kʷ łaXʷ ...tu-puq̓ʷs-tXʷ (5) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č̓ łaX
-two-they-Quot those ones ...NProx-puq̓ʷs-Dist (5) go-he-Quot-Perf that
were two of them ...the Puq̓ʷs. (5) He started to stalk

s-ka-k̓up-lx-tis (6) ʔasikāX-ał-s-kʷ-č̓ al-a-
one Der-Unr-stalk-Inch-he/them (6) forest-foot-he-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-
them. (6) He went along through the forest

-asikāX-ac s-k̓up-lx-tis ʔuł-ta-ʔumat-s ta-ta-
-forest-Prox Der-stalk-Inch-he/them Prep-NProx-get to-he NProx-NProx-
stalking them to the spot where the...the...the...the one of them was

-ta- ...ta-s-maw-tX s-kaka-mut-s (7) nu-łnūs-a-
-NProx-...NProx-Der-one-Dist Der-carry Redp-Refl-he (7) human-two-they-
going back and forth packing something. (7) There were two

-kʷ łaXʷ (8) cīX-m-kʷ ta-nu-maw-tX ał-
-Quot those ones (8) dig a hole-MP-Quot NProx-human-one-Dist Prep-
of them. (8) One was digging out toward the water.

-ta-unikʷ-tXʷ (9) kaka-mut-s-kʷ-č̓
-NProx-direction away from land-Dist (9) carry Redp-Refl-he-Quot-Perf
(9) The other one was packing

ta-s-maw-tX ʔuɬ-ta-aƛ̓s-tXʷ (10) ʔaɬ-
NProx-Der-one-Dist Prep-NProx-direction away from water-Dist (10) Res-
things up from the water. (10) He

-lXʷ-tis-kʷ-č̓ aɬ-tXʷ ʔūɬ-tXʷ s-ʔanayk-s-kʷ-alu-č̓
-watch-he/them-Quot-Perf Prep-then Prep-then Der-want-he-Quot-Att-Perf
watched them then until he wanted to try to shoot one of them.

s-ka-tka-t-is ta-s-maw-tX aɬ-tXʷ (11) tka-t-
Der-Unr-shoot-Tr-he/him NProx-Der-one-Dist Prep-then (11) shoot-Tr-
(11) He tried

-is-kʷ-alu-č̓ ɬ̓aX aɬ-tXʷ (12) ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-či-k
-he/him-Quot-Att-Perf that one Prep-then (12) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
to shoot him then. (12) But his gun didn't

ƛ̓Xm-s ta-tka-ta-s-tX (13) ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-či-k
go off-it NProx-shoot-Inst-his-Dist (13) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Contr
fire. (13) The gun just clicked and

ƛ̓Xm-s ta-tka-ta-tX aɬ-tXʷ s-tm-čs-m-kʷ-lu-č̓
go off-it NProx-shoot-Inst-Dist Prep-then Der-just-click-MP-Quot-Expv-Perf
did not go off then.

ɬ̓aX (14) qaɬ̓-is-kʷ-alu-č̓ s-ka-tka-t-is
that one (14) squeeze-he/it-Quot-Att-Perf Der-Unr-shoot-Tr-he/him
(14) He tried to pull the trigger to shoot him.

(15) ʔaXʷ-kʷ-tu Xiɬ-āX-aɬ-aw ɬ̓aXʷ s-
(15) Neg-Quot-Conf many times-distributed-foot-they those ones Der-
(15) They didn't take many steps getting away from the place where

-lip̓-cut-aw-č̓ wixɬɬ-tu-amat-ak-aw-tXʷ s-cīX-m-
-return-Refl-they-Perf Prep-NProx-stay-hand-they-Dist Der-dig a hole-MP-
they were working digging clams.

-aw (16) nu-cxm-āX-a-kʷ-č̓ ʔul-aƛ̓s
-they (16) agent-disappear-distributed-they-Quot-Perf Prep-direction
(16) They disappeared landward into the forest.

ʔał-ta-asikāX-tXʷ (17) ʔay-s-kʷ-č̓ ał-
away from water Prep-NProx-forest-Dist (17) happen-it-Quot-Perf Prep-
(17) Something happened then,

-tXʷ way s-ʔał-ʔay-s-kʷ-č̓ x-a-wix wa-sunxʷ-ac
-then OK Der-Res-happen-it-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-be then Prox-sky-Prox
all right, that was just as if it was thundering.

wa-č̓smsm ʔał-tXʷ (18) ʔay-uc-m-tim-kʷ-č̓ s-
Prox-thunder MP Redp Prep-then (18) do-mouth-MP-Pass-Quot-Perf Der-
(18) They are said to slap the trunks

-smp̓nk-a-naw ał-a-stn-ac (19) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-
-strike bottom Redp-Intr-they Prep-Prox-tree-Prox (19) Res-do-they-Quot-
of trees. (19) That's what they

-č̓ x-tXʷ s-ʔanu-s-cay-am-us-m-tis ał-tXʷ (20) ʔaX-
-Perf Prep-then Der-Cont-Der- -CD-face-MP-he/them Prep-then (20) Neg-
were doing then while he listened to them. (20) He

-kʷ-č̓ ʔałnap-liwa-cut-s-tū s-ka-q̓ʷlas-am-s ʔał-ti-s-
-Quot-Perf know-Sim-Refl-he-NContr Der-Unr-strange-CD-he Prep-Prox-Der-
didn't know there was any change in himself.

-cnł-s (21) ya-kʷ-tū ał-tXʷ s-ƛ̓msta-s (22) way
-him-he (21) good-Quot-NContr Prep-then Der-person-he (22) OK
(21) He was a good person then. (22) OK.

(23) ʔiƛ̓-uc-m-c-i-č̓i-k ʔūł ... ʔūł-ta-qāklis-tum-ck
(23) move-mouth-MP-I-Contr-Perf Prep ... Prep-NProx-qāklis-CPass-InfDub
(23) I'm going to go on and talk about ... about the man named Qāklis ...

... ta-qāklis-tum-kʷ (24) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ t̓aXʷ s-
... NProx-qāklis-CPass-Quot (24) Res-do-they-Quot those ones Der-
the one named Qāklis. (24) This happened to some people who were

-k̓matk-aw ʔal-a-ay-uc-m-im-ac s-txuxlaƛ̓sūs-s
-stay overnight-they Prep-Prox-do-mouth-MP-Pass-Prox Der-txuxlaƛ̓sūs-it
staying overnight at the place that's called Txuxlaƛ̓sūs.

(25) txuxlaƛ̓sūs cut-a-kʷ-k̓ʷ ūł-c (26) łk̓ʷ-alus-kʷ
(25) txuxlaƛ̓sūs say-they-Quot-Usit Prep-there (26) big-pieces-Quot
(25) They used to call it Txuxlaƛ̓sūs. (26) The man had a

wa-nīXʷ-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ał-tXʷ (27) k̓matk-a-
Prox-fire-his NProx-person-Dist Prep-there (27) stay overnight-they-
big fire there. (27) People used to camp

-kʷ-k̓ʷ ał-tXʷ ʔal-a-wayx-ī (28) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č
-Quot-Usit Prep-there Prep-Prox-be a time-Dim (28) go-they-Quot-Perf
overnight there not too long ago. (28) They had gone

ac ʔal-a-ac s-ka-ał-kʷl-cut-aw ʔał-tu-nīXʷ-
these ones Prep-Prox-there Der-Unr-Res-warm-Refl-they Prep-NProx-fire-
there then to warm themselves at a fire.

-tXʷ ał-tXʷ (29) ʔas-mna-yak-a-kʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ
-Dist Prep-then (29) Loc-child-hand-they-Quot NProx-person-Dist
(29) The people had a child.

(30) ƛ̓msta-kʷ-tu-ya ti-Xilxus ʔał-ti-kuł-ank-s
(30) person-Quot-Conf-Incomp Prox-appear Prep-Prox-surface-side-its
(30) A person suddenly appeared at the side of their fire there.

ta-nīXʷ-aw-ŧaXʷ ał-tXʷ (31) Xilxus-timut-s-kʷ tX ał-
NProx-fire-their-Mid Prep-there (31) appear-CRefl-he-Quot he Prep-
(31) He stuck his head out there ...

-tXʷ ...ta-puq̓ʷs-kʷ-ma-ku-tX (32) ʔmt-a-kʷ-č ʔn
-there ...NProx-puq̓ʷs-Quot-Dub-Surp-Dist (32) sit-they-Quot-Perf and
and it was a Puq̓ʷs. (32) He and his wife were

ʔił-xnas-s-ił ał-tXʷ (33) ƛ̓msta-č ŧayx cut-s-kʷ-
NProx-wife-his-Dist Prep-there (33) person-Perf this one say-he-Quot-
sitting there. (33) "It's a person," he said then.

-čn ŧaX ał-tXʷ (34) k̓ʷnta-cut-s-kʷ-č ał-tXʷ
-Impf that one Prep-then (34) decide-Refl-he-Quot-Perf Prep-then
(34) He made up his mind then to throw a

s-ka-tay-īXʷ-is s-ti-nīXʷ ał-tXʷ ʔał-tu-nīXʷ-aw-
Der-Unr-throw-head-he/him Prep-Prox-fire Prep-then Prep-NProx-fire-their-
burning piece of wood from their fire at him then.

-tXʷ (35) ʔikʷł-us-is ał-tXʷ (36) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓ ta-
-Dist (35) toss-face-he/him Prep-then (36) go-he-Quot-Perf NProx-
(35) He tossed it at his face then. (36) The animal started to

-nanmk̓-tX s-ka-liq̓ʷ-m-s ʔał-tXʷ ʔał-ta-amat-s-tXʷ
-animal-Dist Der-Unr-roll-MP-he Prep-there Prep-NProx-stay-he-Dist
roll down at the spot he was at.

(37) tay-īXʷ-ay-nix-is-kʷ-c̓ ał-tXʷ (38) ʔip̓-is-
(37) throw-head-Aux-LC-he/him-Quot-Perf Prep-then (38) grasp-he/him-
(37) He managed to throw it at him then. (38) He grabbed

-kʷ-c̓ ta-qīqtī-tX ʔn ta-s-q̓łkʷ-aw-tXʷ
-Quot-Perf NProx-baby-Dist and NProx-Der-belongings-their-Dist
up the baby and their belongings.

(39) ƛ̓a-ki-it łm-nu (40) łXʷ-m-ł cut-s-kʷ-c̓n
(39) hindrance-go-Exh stand-you (40) flee-MP-we say-he-Quot-Impf
(39) "Come on and get up! (40) Let's run," he said to his

t̓ayx ʔuł-ił-xnas-s-ił (41) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓ s-nmp-
this one Prep-NProx-wife-his-Dist (41) go-they-Quot-Perf Der-put into-
wife. (41) They went and got into their

-imut-aw ʔuł-ta-łalas-aw-tX (42) puƛ̓-s-kʷ-c̓ t̓ayx
-Refl-they Prep-NProx-boat-their-Dist (42) come-he-Quot-Perf this one
boat. (42) Then he comes rowing through

ʔal-a-ac s-ka-ʔnƛ̓-ał-s-alu-c̓ tqʷnƛ̓ s-ka-
Prep-Prox-now Der-Unr-nighttime-travel-he-Att-Perf this way Der-Unr-
the night in this direction.

-issut-s (43) tu-q̓ʷlas-am-kʷ-tu-ya tu-mnta-naw
-row-he (43) NProx-strange-CD-Quot-Conf-Incomp NProx-path-their
(43) Their path seemed to change.

łaXʷ (44) ʔaX-kʷ-lu-č̓ ʔał-xʷin-nimut-s łaX ał-tXʷ
those ones (44) Neg-Quot-Expv-Perf Res- -LCRefl-he that one Prep-then
(44) The man called Qāklis, the one to whom all these th[illegible]s

s-ka-ʔay-s-kʷ-ma ał-tXʷ ...ti-qāklis-tum-kʷ ...ti-
Der-Unr-happen-it-Quot-Dub Prep-then ...Prox-qāklis-CPass-Quot ...Prox-
were happening, didn't seem to notice what was going on.

-ti-ti-ʔay-kʷ x-ac (45) nu-ƛ̓ł-lx-s a-
-Prox-Prox-happen-Quot Prep-these things (45) place-dry-Inch-it Prox-
(45) The channel was drying

-sulut-ac (46) nu-ƛ̓ł-lx-s-kʷ-č̓ wa-sulut-ac ʔał-
-channel-Prox (46) place-dry-Inch-it-Quot-Perf Prox-channel-Prox Prep-
up. (46) The channel was drying up then.

-tXʷ (47) ʔum-ał-s-kʷ-lu-č̓ łaX ał-tXʷ s-
-then (47) get out-vehicle-he-Quot-Expv-Perf that one Prep-then Der-
(47) He got out of the boat then to tow it along their way

-ka-cacXʷ-m-us-tus ʔał-tu-mnta-naw-tXʷ ʔał-
-Unr-walk in water Redp-MP-front-Che/it Prep-NProx-path-their-Dist Prep-
coming here.

-tXʷ tqʷnƛ̓ (48) xap̓-aw ʔac (49) ʔay-na-kʷ-č̓
-there this way (48) get away-they these ones (49) do-they-Quot-Perf
(48) They got away safely. (49) Then they made

x-tXʷ s-xʷp-ayx-a-kʷ tXʷ ał-ta-nu-q̓s-łaXʷ
Prep-then Der-free-LCRes-they-Quot they Prep-NProx-place-extreme-Mid
it past the spot where the current is swift.

(50) s-k̓ʷał-am-s (51) s-k̓ʷał-am-s-kʷ-tu-č̓ a-
(50) Der-improve-CD-it (51) Der-improve-CD-it-Quot-Conf-Perf Prox-
(50) It got better. (51) The channel improved then.

-sulut-ac ʔał-tXʷ (52) puƛ̓-a-kʷ-č̓ ał-tXʷ tqʷnƛ̓
-channel-Prox Prep-then (52) come-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then this way
(52) They came on this way then.

(53) tm-ˀał-ˀay-ł-it-k̓ʷu-k x-ac s-ˀalačī-naw-k̓ʷu ŧaXʷ
(53) just-Res-do-Mid-Contr-Usit Prep-this Der-tell-they-Usit those ones
(53) It was just like this, all right, that my old people would tell

way tu-łlk̓ʷlx-ta-łł-c-ŧaXʷ ˀal-a-wix s-
all right NProx-old person Redp-Inst-DP-my-Mid Prep-Prox-be then Der-
about things when there was something unusual in the channel long

-ixanap-liwa-cut-layx ˀal-a-sulut-ac ˀal-a-ˀayk̓
-find right place-Sim-Refl-IC Prep-Prox-channel-Prox Prep-Prox-be long
ago.

(54) way
time (54) OK
(54) OK.

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Almci, Qāklis and the Puq̓ʷs

It was Almci who first told this story. He was digging clams at Č̓iqʷi. He thought he heard the ones called Puq̓ʷs digging not too far away and went to look for them. There were two of them -- two Puq̓ʷses there. One was digging clams, working his way towards the water while the other was packing the clams inland into the bush. Almci watched them for a while before deciding to try and shoot one of them. He aimed his rifle and pulled the trigger, but the rifle didn't fire. It didn't go off, it just clicked. The Puq̓ʷses heard the click and didn't waste any time getting away. They disappeared into the forest.

There was a couple with a child sitting on the shore warming themselves before their campfire. They heard what sounded like thunder. It was really Puq̓ʷses slapping the sides of trees. Suddenly something they took to be a person appeared near their campfire. He stuck his head out and they could see that he was really a Puq̓ʷs. The man decided to throw a brand from the fire at the beast. He tossed it into the Puq̓ʷs's face. The Puq̓ʷs began to writhe and roll around on the ground as soon as he was struck. The man grabbed his child and their belongings.

"Come on! Get up! Let's run!" he said to his wife. They took off and got into their boat. The man rowed down this way all night long. The way seemed strange to him all of a sudden. The man, who was called Qāklis, didn't seem to understand what was happening. It seemed as if the channel was drying up;it was getting shallower and shallower as he rowed. Finally he had to get out of the boat and tow it along. They made it past the rapids. The channel improved then and they were safe.

This is just the way the old people would tell of unusual happenings along the channel long ago.

An Attack on Kwatna

(1) way (2) tm-ˀay-ūc-timut-ł-c s-ka-alac̓ī-c ˀal-anayk-m-
(1) OK (2) just-do-mouth-CRefl-Mid-I Der-Unr-tell-I Prep-want-Tr-
(1) OK. (2) I'll just try to tell about those things that I want

-ic-ˀac s-ka-alac̓ī-tutic ...ˀał-si-nu-łk̓m-ił ˀał-
-I/it-Prox Der-Unr-tell-CI/them ...Prep-Der-agent-speak-genital Prep-
to tell about...about "Where it spoke[sinułk̓mił]" at Kwatna a long time

-qʷałna ˀal-a-ˀayk̓ (3) xʷin-nimut-kʷ ta-s-q̓łkʷ-
-qʷałna Prep-Prox-be long time (3) -LCRefl-Quot NProx-Der-belongings-
ago. (3) Her body discovered that the Big

-s-tXʷ s-ka-q̓ʷala-yāX-tutim-kʷ ał-tXʷ ał-ti-
-her-Dist Der-Unr-be no more-distributed-CPass-Quot Prep-then Prep-Prox-
Bellied People [inhabitants of Kwatna] were going to be wiped out.

-łixłik̓ʷ-ułank-mx-t̓ayx (4) Xim-s ˀał-tXʷ wa-sunxʷ-ac
-big Redp-lower abdomen-person-Prox (4) dawn-it Prep-then Prox-day-Prox
(4) Day came then.

(5) ƛ̓ap-kʷ-c̓ ta-nu-maw ta-ƛ̓msta-tX s-ka-isisut-
(5) go-Quot-Perf NProx-human-one NProx-person-Dist Der-Unr-row Redp-
(5) One of the people went rowing in the channel.

-ī-s ˀal-a-sulut-ac (6) n-axʷsnix-ik-ūc-tis-
-Dim-he Prep-Prox-channel-Prox (6) internal-hear-internal-mouth-he/them-
(6) He overheard some people eating

-kʷ-c̓n t̓aX wa-is-ˀat̓ ˀał-tXʷ ˀał-ta-asikāX-
-Quot-Impf that one Prox-eat-herring egg Prep-there Prep-NProx-forest-
herring eggs there in the forest.

-tXʷ (7) ˀaXʷ-c̓ ka-k̓x-im x-tXʷ (8) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-c̓
-Dist (7) Neg-Perf Unr-see-Pass Prep-them (8) go-he-Quot-Perf
(7) He was not seen by them. (8) He went closer

ŧayx s-ka-mū-s s-ka-ʔanu-s-cay-nm-ik-ūc-tis
this one Der-Unr-more-he Der-Unr-Cont-Der- -LCDev-middle-mouth-he/them
in order to eavesdrop further on them.

(9) ʔałps-aw x-a-ʔaŧ ał-tXʷ (10) ƛap-s-kʷ-lu-
(9) eat-they Prep-Prox-herring egg Prep-there (10) go-he-Quot-Expv-
(9) They were eating herring eggs there. (10) He went rowing

-č ŧayx s-ka-issut-s ʔuł-ta-ʔapsuł-tXʷ ʔał-qʷałna s-
-Perf this one Der-Unr-row-he Prep-NProx-village-Dist Prep-qʷałna Der-
to the village at Kwatna to tell them.

-ka-alačī-tutis (11) čXmayx-kʷ s-ʔaXʷ wit-aw tu-ƛmsta-tXʷ
-Unr-tell-Che/them (11) true-Quot Der-Neg wait-they NProx-person-Dist
(11) They didn't even wait to pack up.

s-ʔawq̓aw-cut-aw (12) ƛap-aw s-ka-usikāX-am-timut-
Der-pack up Redp-Refl-they (12) go-they Der-Unr-go into forest-CD-CRefl-
(12) They started off into the forest then.

-aw ʔał-tXʷ (13) ʔusikāX-am-timut-a-kʷ s-łXʷ-m-aw
-they Prep-then (13) go into forest-CD-CRefl-they-Quot Der-flee-MP-they
(13) They ran off into the forest then.

ʔał-tXʷ (14) ʔaX-kʷ-i-lu-či-k ayk̓-m-ī-naw ŧaXʷ
Prep-then (14) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf be long time-MP-Dim-they those
(14) They weren't there long.

(15) ʔał-ʔay-naw tXʷ s-usikāX-am-ayx-aw s-
ones (15) Res-do-they they Der-go into forest-CD-LCRes-they Der-
(15) They had gone into the forest when the invading force

-čkt-s ta-wina-tXʷ ʔuł-ta-suł-tXʷ (16) ʔal-ay-uc-
-arrive-it NProx-invade-Dist Prep-NProx-house-Dist (16) Prep-do-mouth-
arrived at the houses. (16) It was at a

-m-im-ʔac nunuq̓ʷays wa-ʔamat-a-kʷ ŧaXʷ ...tu-wina-
-MP-Pass-Prox nunuq̓ʷays Prox-stay-they-Quot those ones ...NProx-invade-
place called Nunuq̓ʷays where they ...the invaders were.

-tXʷ (17) txuł-ʔāXł-ał-aw-tū wa-xʷł ʔał-tXʷ ʔał-
-Dist (17) toward-upriver-foot-they-NContr Prox-some Prep-then Prep-
(17) And some of them went upriver then at Kwatna.

-qʷałna ʔūl-āXł (18) num-ał-m-it ʔul-a-ya-nix-
-qʷałna Prep-upriver (18) scatter-foot-MP-they/it Prep-Prox-good-LC-
(18) They scattered then to wherever they thought

-it s-ka-umat-aw s-ka-ipu-cut-aw ʔał-tXʷ
-they/it Der-Unr-get to-they Der-Unr-hide-Refl-they Prep-then
the best places were to go and hide.

(19) ʔay-naw-č̓ ał-tXʷ wa-axʷł (20) nax-liwa-timut-aw ał-
(19) do-they-Perf Prep-then Prox-some (20) ready-Sim-CRefl-they Prep-
(19) Some had done that then. (20) They made ready there high

-tXʷ ʔał-ti-ƛ̓uk̓ ...ʔal-a-ƛ̓uk̓ al-a-sasmt-ac
-there Prep-Prox-high ...Prep-Prox-high Prep-Prox-mountain Redp-Prox
up ...high up in the mountains at Kwatna.

ʔał-qʷałna (21) ʔał-k̓up-lx-tit ʔac ka-ʔał-
Prep-qʷałna (21) Res-lie in wait-Inch-they/them these ones Unr-Res-
(21) They lay in wait to see if they had been followed by

-awł-tim x-tXʷ (22) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-i-lu-k łaXʷ
-follow-Pass Prep-them (22) Res-do-they-Quot-Contr-Expv those ones
them. (22) And they were followed by the invaders.

s-ʔał-ʔawł-tim ʔał-tXʷ x-ta-wina-tXʷ (23) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-
Der-Res-follow-Pass Prep-then Prep-NProx-invade-Dist (23) go-he-Quot-
(23) One of the

-č̓ ta-nu-maw ta-ƛ̓msta-tX s-ka-wnč̓-tis ta-ał-
-Perf NProx-human-one NProx-person-Dist Der-Unr-kill-he/them NProx-Res-
people started to attack and kill those who had followed them.

-ʔawł-tan-tXʷ (24) ʔik̓ł-lx-aw ʔuł-cnł s-č̓kt-ak-m-
-follow-they/them-Dist (24) near-Inch-they Prep-him Der-arrive-hand-MP-
(24) When they got close to him, he attacked

-tis   ʔał-tXʷ   (25)   tm-ʔał-ʔay-ł-tutit-kʷ-i-lu-či-k
-he/them   Prep-then   (25)   just-Res-do-Mid-Cthey/them-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf
them.   (25)   That is what they now did to the invaders ...

ƛaXʷ   x-ac   tu-wina-łł-tXʷ   ...ta-ał-ʔawł-tan-
those ones   Prep-now   NProx-invade-DP-Dist   ...NProx-Res-follow-they/them-
the ones who had followed them into the forest.

-tXʷ   ał-ta-asikāX-tXʷ   (26)   ʔał-ʔay-uc-a-k̓ʷ   x-ac
-Dist   Prep-NProx-forest-Dist   (26)   Res-do-mouth-they-Usit   Prep-these
(26)   That's how the old people talked

tu-łłk̓ʷlx-tXʷ   s-alačī-naw   ʔal-a-wina-c
things   NProx-old person Redp-Dist   Der-tell-they   Prep-Prox-invade-Prox
about these things when they told about the invaders a long time ago.

al-a-ayk̓   (27)   ʔał-ʔay-naw   x-tXʷ   s-lis-cut-ay-layx-
Prep-Prox-be long time   (27)   Res-do-they   Prep-then   Der-push-Refl-Aux-IC-
(27)   They did those things then to get even with

-aw   uł-ta-puƛ̓-m-tan-tX   ʔał-tXʷ   (28)   wix-kʷ-
-they   Prep-NProx-come-Tr-he/them-Dist   Prep-then   (28)   be then-Quot-
the one who had come at them then.   (28)   This was when

-i-či-k   ac   s-ał-ʔay-ak-m-tim   ƛaXʷ   x-ʔił-mna-s
-Contr-Perf   now   Der-Res-do-hand-MP-Pass   those ones   Prep-NProx-child-his
the daughter of the chief got taken from them.

ta-staltmx-tX   (29)   ʔaXʷ   ʔałnap-ic   ti-ka-s   ʔał-tu-staltmx-
NProx-chief-Dist   (29)   Neg   know-I/him   Prox-which-he   Prep-NProx-chief-
(29)   I don't know which of the chiefs at Kwatna whose

-tXʷ   ał-qʷałna   ti-xł-mna   x-ił   ka-tix-s-tū   ti-
-Dist   Prep-qʷałna   Prox-have-child   Prep-her   Unr-be he-he-NContr   Prox-
daughter she was, whether it was the one called q̓ʷmānakʷla.

-q̓ʷmānakʷla-tum   (30)   hamcit-ku-ks   ti-nu-maw   ...ti-q̓ʷalm-
-q̓ʷmānakʷla-CPass   (30)   hamcit-Surp-Ind   Prox-human-one   ...Prox-elder
(30)   Hamcit ...the older brother of Plxʷlaqs, was

-s plxʷlaqs ʔaɬ-qʷaɬna-tū ʔn ta-q̓ʷmānakʷla-tum
brother-her plxʷlaqs Prep-qʷaɬna-NContr and NProx-q̓ʷmānakʷla-CPass
one of them as well as the one called Q̓ʷmānakʷla.

(31) ʔay-naw-č̓ x-tXʷ s-tix-aɬ-ʔay-ak-m-tim x-
(31) do-they-Perf Prep-then Der-bring back-Res-do-hand-MP-Pass Prep-
(31) They happened to have the girl taken from them then.

-iɬ-cāctī-ɬ (32) ʔaɬ-kʷn-im-kʷ-č̓ č̓ayx ʔul-
-NProx-young child-Dist (32) Res-take-Pass-Quot-Perf this one Prep-
(32) The young girl was taken downriver

-a-taq̓ʷɬ ʔaɬ-taXʷ ...ʔiɬ-cāctī-ɬ (33) ks-ak-im-
-Prox-downriver Prep-there ...NProx-young child-Dist (33) pull-hand-Pass-
there. (33) She was pulled

-kʷ-it-k̓ʷu-k ʔiɬʔayɬ x-iɬ-xnas-s ta-aɬ-kʷn-t-tX
-Quot-Contr-Usit that one Prep-NProx-wife-his NProx-Res-take-he/her-Dist
along by the wife of the one who was taking her north.

ʔūl-a-tXaq̓ʷɬ-ac (34) ks-ak-im (35) ʔiɬk̓-im
Prep-Prox-north-Prox (34) pull-hand-Pass (35) pick at head-Pass
(34) She was pulled along. (35) She had her head

ʔaɬ-ta-as-cūc tu-suɬ-tXʷ (36) ʔay-tum ʔaɬ-tXʷ x-
Prep-NProx-Loc-front NProx-house-Dist (36) do-CPass Prep-then Prep-
picked for nits in front of the village. (36) It was done to her then

-tXʷ (37) Xiɬ-kʷ s-ʔay-tum ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-ʔay-s ti-
-them (37) many times-Quot Der-do-CPass Prep-then Der-do-it Prox-
by them. (37) It was done many times then when the man's totem did

-as-qa-yaɬ-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (38) ɬk̓m-tum ti-č̓lkt-
-Loc-outside-foot-his NProx-person-Dist (38) speak-CPass Prox-bald
something. (38) The bald eagle was made

-ɬ̓ayx (39) č̓lkt-kʷ ta-as-qa-yaɬ-s ta-
eagle-Prox (39) bald eagle-Quot NProx-Loc-outside-foot-his NProx-
to speak. (39) The bald eagle was the man's totem.

-ƛmsta-tX (40) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s-kʷ-tū aɬ-ta-as-qa-yaɬ-s
-person-Dist (40) Res-do-it-Quot-NContr Prep-NProx-Loc-outside-foot-his
(40) And it was just like her father's totem in Kwatna.

ta-man-s-tX ʔaɬ-qʷaɬna (41) ʔay-s-kʷ-č x-tXʷ s-
NProx-father-her-Dist Prep-qʷaɬna (41) do-she-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-
(41) The young girl cried out then

-nu-sq̓-āX-m-s ʔiɬ-cācti-ɬ tix-s-č
-agent-start-distributed-MP-she NProx-young child-Dist be he-he-Perf
because the one who was speaking was the totem ...making the sound of

ti-aɬaɬ-cim-ŧayx ...ti-tiltilit-ŧayx (42) ti-
Prox-Res Redp-speak-Prox ...Prox-sound an eagle makes-Prox (42) Prox-
an eagle. (42) The

-člkt-ŧayx ti-si-ʔay-s ʔiɬ-cācti-ɬ (43) ƛ̓ap-s-
-bald eagle-Prox Prox-Der-do-she NProx-young child-Dist (43) go-she-
eagle was why the young girl did it. (43) The woman

-kʷ-č iɬ-ƛmsta-yɬ s-ka-s-cay-uɬ-is
-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Der-seek-Der- -direction-she/her
began to question her.

(44) ʔal-a-cixʷ-nu-ks cut-m-im-kʷ-č x-iɬ (45) kʷanaŧ
(44) Prep-Prox-what-you-Ind say-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf Prep-her (45) cry-
(44) "What's wrong with you," she was asked by her. (45) The

-s-kʷ iɬ-cācti-ɬ (46) ʔaɬ-ʔay-uc-ma-su-k̓ʷ ta-
-she-Quot NProx-young child-Dist (46) Res-do-mouth-Dub-Expb-Usit NProx-
little girl cried. (46) "I wonder if my father's sign

-k̓ʷaɬ-tn-ta-s ta-man-c-tX x-ti-ʔaɬ-ʔay-uc-ŧayx cut-
-form-Inst-Inst-his NProx-father-my-Dist Prep-Prox-Res-do-mouth-Prox say-
(from his creation story) ever speaks like this one talking here," the

-kʷ-i-či-k ʔiɬ-cācti-ɬ (47) wal-im-kʷ-lu-č
-Quot-Contr-Perf NProx-young child-Dist (47) leave-Pass-Quot-Expv-Perf
young girl said. (47) She was left by the

x-ił s-ka-us-txʷ-s ʔił-ƛ̓msta-ył uł-tu-suł-aw-
Prep-her Der-Unr-Dir-inside-he NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-house-their-
woman, who went inside their house.

-tXʷ (48) ʔalač̓ī-tus-kʷ-č̓ ta-kʷtmc-s-tX s-ʔał-ʔay-
-Dist (48) tell-Cshe/him-Quot-Perf NProx-husband-her-Dist Der-Res-do-
(48) She told her husband what she had done then.

-s x-tXʷ (49) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-č̓ x-tXʷ s-ʔałʔał-
-she Prep-then (49) Res-do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-Res Redp-
(49) What they did then was to speak among themselves.

-cim-tmaxʷ-uks-a-kʷ ʔał-tXʷ (50) ʔay-anm-ūc-tum-kʷ-i-
-speak-Recip-Pl-they-Quot Prep-then (50) do-LCDev-edge-CPass-Quot-Contr-
(50) She ...the girl was taken

-č̓i-k č̓ayx way ʔūł-lq̓ʷlas-mx ...ʔił-ƛ̓msta-ył
-Perf this one OK Prep-strange Redp-person ...NProx-person-Dist
(back) as far as the Bella Bella.

(51) kaw-im-kʷ-č̓ x-ta-ʔip̓-t-alu-tX ʔał-tXʷ
(51) carry-Pass-Quot-Perf Prep-NProx-grab-he/her-Att-Dist Prep-then
(51) She was brought then by the one who had tried to take her north.

ul-a-tXaq̓ʷł-ac (52) ʔay-anm-ūc-tum-kʷ-č̓ ʔuł-lq̓ʷlas-
Prep-Prox-north-Prox (52) do-LCDev-edge-CPass-Quot-Perf Prep-strange
(52) She was brought then as far as the Bella

-mx ał-tXʷ s-kaw-im (53) wa-s tix-cki tX
Redp-person Prep-then Der-carry-Pass (53) who-he be he-InfDub he
Bella. (53) Q̓ʷmānakʷla must have been

ti-q̓ʷmānakʷla-tum ti-man-s-ck ił-cāctī-ł
Prox-q̓ʷmānakʷla-CPass Prox-father-her-InfDub NProx-young child-Dist
who the young girl's father was.

(54) tix-kʷ t̓aX ti-nmnm-ak-m-tan (55) ʔus-
(54) be he-Quot that one Prox-shelter Redp-hand-MP-he/them (55) Dir-
(54) He's the one who's holding them in his hand. (55) He

-kł-im-kʷ s-ka-lXʷ-aq̓ʷs-ta-tum ʔał-tXʷ (56) ti-
-drop-Pass-Quot Der-Unr-vigilant-eye-Inst-CPass Prep-there (56) Prox-
was dropped down there, being made to be vigilant. (56) It's

-č̓lkt-ƛayx ʔn ti-qʷaXʷ-tX (57) ʔa-łXʷ-aq̓ʷs-tum-kʷ
-bald eagle-Prox and Prox-raven-Dist (57) Res-vigilant-eye-CPass-Quot
the bald eagle and the raven. (57) He was made to be vigilant

x-tXʷ (58) ʔas-qa-yał-m-tis-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k ta-
Prep-them (58) Loc-outside-foot-MP-he/them-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf NProx-
by them. (58) The man, Q̓ʷmānakʷlaklis, had these as his totems there

-ƛ̓msta-tX ...q̓ʷmānakʷlaklis ...ʔac ʔał-tu-suł-s-tXʷ
-person-Dist ...q̓ʷmānakʷlaklis ...here Prep-NProx-house-his-Dist
at his house.

(59) ʔał-ʔay-na-kʷ-č̓ x-tXʷ s-kamał-č̓kta-liwa-s wa-č̓kta-s
(59) Res-do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-when-happen-Sim-it Prox-do-he
(59) They do like that whenever the Kwatna resident does anything at

ta-qʷałna-mx-tX (60) łk̓m-tutim-kʷ-č̓ ac
NProx-qʷałna-inhabitant-Dist (60) speak-CPass-Quot-Perf these ones
all. (60) These, his totems, are made to

ta-as-qa-yał-s-tXʷ ʔał-tu-suł-s-tXʷ ...ʔał-ti-
NProx-Loc-outside-foot-his-Dist Prep-NProx-house-his-Dist ...Prep-Prox-
speak at his house ...at the Kwatna person's.

-qʷałna-mx (61) tm-ʔay-anm-ūc ʔił k̓ʷ x-ac
-qʷałna-inhabitant (61) just-do-LCDev-edge she Usit Prep-these things
(61) It's only as far as she used to tell these

s-ʔałnap-ic ʔac (62) sm̄sma-yamk-is ʔił ...ʔił-
Der-know-I/it these things (62) tell story Redp-Pat-she/it she ...NProx-
things that I know them. (62) She ---Plxʷlaqs---told this story.

-plxʷlaqs-łł-ił (63) laʔlay cut-aw-tu-k̓ʷ uł-ił (64) ʔił-
-plxʷlaqs-DP-Dist (63) laʔlay say-they-Conf-Usit Prep-her (64) NProx-
(63) They used to call her Laʔlay. (64) She's

-laʔlay-iɬ-c̓n ʔiɬ (65) cix-k̓ʷ iɬ ci-sm̄sma-
-laʔlay-Dist-Impf she (65) be she-Usit she Prox-tell story Redp-
the last one they called Laʔlay. (65) It'was she who used to tell me about

-yūs-cs x-ac ʔal-a-mamnc-ī-c-c s-
-front-she/me Prep-these things Prep-Prox-child Redp-Dim-my-Prox Der-
these things on account of my children, so that they would not be said

-ka-ʔaXʷ ka-aɬ-ʔay-naw s-ka-q̓ay-uc-m-tim-kʷ (66) ʔay-uc
-Unr-Neg Unr-Res-do-they Der-Unr-poor-mouth-MP-Pass-Quot (66) do-mouth
to be good-for-nothing. (66) She said

x-tXʷ uɬ-ʔnc (67) sm̄sma-yamk-tis (68) way
Prep-them Prep-me (67) tell story Redp-Pat-she/them (68) OK
these things to me. (67) She told the stories. (68) OK.

* * * * * *

An Attack on Kwatna

OK, I'll just try to tell the story about a woman called "Where it spoke" (Sinuɬk̓miɬ).

It was a long time ago in Kwatna. Sinuɬk̓miɬ had a premonition that the Big Bellied People (the inhabitants of Kwatna) would be wiped out.

One day, a man was rowing out in the channel when he heard some people eating herring roe in the forest. They hadn't seen him so he rowed closer to shore to eavesdrop on them. What he heard told him that the people eating herring roe were a bunch of raiders. He listened to them talk of their plans to raid a Kwatna village. The man rowed away from the shore very quietly and then rowed as fast as he could back to warn the people at Kwatna of the raid. As soon as he had delivered his warning the people ran into the forest. They didn't even pack up their things. They had just disappeared into the forest when the raiders arrived at the village. It was at a place called Nunuq̓ʷays, where all this happened.

Some of the Kwatna people went upriver. Others went high up into the mountains. They scattered to wherever they thought the best hiding place would be. They lay in wait to see if the raiders would follow them. Sure enough, the raiders had followed them into the forest. They tried to ambush the raiders following them. Someone would wait until a couple of the raiders came close and then he would attack them. That's how the old people told about the raiders long ago.

It was at this same time that some chief's daughter was taken by the raiders. I don't remember which chief's daughter she was. It could have been the daughter of Q̓ʷmanakʷla or Hamcit, the older brother of Plxʷlaqs. Anyway, she had been taken downriver. She was pulled along by her captor's wife. They were taking her to their home in the North.

One day, as she was having lice picked from her hair while sitting in front of her captor's house, she heard the voice of Eagle. Eagle was on her captor's totem pole just as he was also on her father's. Upon hearing Eagle's voice, the girl cried out. Her captor's wife asked her what was wrong. The young girl cried.

"I wonder if my father's Eagle ever speaks like this one here." she said.

The wife left her, entered the house and told her husband what had happened. They talked among themselves and finally decided to return the girl as far as Bella Bella.

They brought her to Bella Bella. It must have been Q̓ʷmānakʷla who was the girl's father. He was holding Eagle and Raven in his hands. He had come down to Earth, made vigilant by Eagle and Raven. He had them on his totem pole at home. Totem figures are like that. Whenever a Kwatna person gets in some kind of trouble, they speak.

I was told this story by Plxʷlaqs. They used to call her Laʔlay. She was the last one to be called Laʔlay. She told me about these things so my children would not be called good-for-nothings.

A Rescue

(1) way ˀanayk-c s-ka-sm̄sma-c x-ta-wina-tXʷ
(1) OK want-I Der-Unr-tell story Redp-I Prep-NProx-invade-Dist
(1) OK, I want to tell the story about the ones who invaded Aƛ̓ciqʷla.

ˀuɬ-ˀaƛ̓ciqʷla (2) ckʷ-liwa-cut-s-ck ta-staltmx-tX s-lq̓-
Prep-ˀaƛ̓ciqʷla (2) start-Sim-Refl-he-InfDub NProx-chief-Dist Der-mind-
(2) The chief started getting the idea of invading

-ay-layx-s s-ka-wina-s ˀaɬ-tXʷ (3) puɬas (4) ˀal-
-Aux-IC-he Der-Unr-invade-he Prep-then (3) puɬas (4) Prep-
then. (3) It was Puɬas. (4) For a

-a-māsk-āX s-n-mt-uc-ayx-s (5) tX-āXɬ-lXs
-Prox-many-days Der-place-sit-opening-LCRes-he (5) from-upriver-end
great many days he sat in front of his house. (5) It was upriver from

(6) nu-kal-ik-ūɬ-ɬayx-s ta-suɬ-tX
(6) internal-meet-internal-building-IC-it NProx-house-Dist
the end. (6) The house was in the middle of others at Q̓umq̓uts.

ˀaɬ-q̓umq̓uts (7) nu-q̓aw-īXʷ-m-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (8) ˀaɬ-
Prep-q̓umq̓uts (7) agent-put up-head-MP-he NProx-person-Dist (8) Res-
(7) The man tied on a headband. (8) He

-q̓ʷay-us-s (9) ˀanu-sXuap-s x-ta-si-
-black part of burnt wood-face-he (9) Cont-pin-he Prep-NProx-Der-
blackened his face. (9) He pinned on his warpath blanket.

-wina-yulīc-s-tX (10) ˀaXʷ ˀaɬnap-im wa-čkta-s ta-ƛ̓msta-
-warrier-covering-his-Dist (10) Neg know-Pass Prox-do-he NProx-person-
(10) No one knew what the man was going to

-tX (11) ˀaXʷ ti-ka-ˀil-us-ay-nix-t (12) ƛ̓ap-s-alu
-Dist (11) Neg Prox-Unr-pass-front-Aux-LC-he/him (12) go-he-Att
do. (11) There was no one who could walk past him. (12) Someone

ti-tX-ul-Xł-ał (13) ˀay-anm-ūc-ł-s-tu-č̓ uł-
Prox-from-Prep-upriver-foot (13) do-LCDev-edge-Mid-he-Conf-Perf Prep-
going upriver would try to go. (13) He would get as far as him.

-tX (14) puƛ̓-s-alu-tu-č̓ ti-tX-āXł-ał (15) tX-
-him (14) come-he-Att-Conf-Perf Prox-from-upriver-foot (15) from-
(14) Someone from upriver would try coming. (15) He came

-āXł-ał-s (16) ˀaXʷ ti-ka-ałˀapq ti-ka-il-us-t
-upriver-foot-he (16) Neg Prox-Unr-brave Prox-Unr-pass-front-he/him
from upriver. (16) No one was brave enough to pass him.

(17) pāXu-naw ał-tX (18) ˀal-a-mūs-āX s-ˀał-ˀay-s
(17) fear-they Prep-him (18) Prep-Prox-four-day Der-Res-do-he
(17) They were afraid of him. (18) He was like that for four days.

x-tXʷ (19) ˀusikāX-am-aw s-ˀałał-cim-tmaxʷ-aw
Prep-then (19) go into forest-CD-they Der-Res Redp-talk-Recip-they
(19) They went into the forest to speak among themselves.

(20) k̓ʷnta-cut-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX (21) cix-s plxʷlaqs ci-
(20) decide-Refl-he NProx-person-Dist (21) be she-she plxʷlaqs Prox-
(20) The man made up his mind. (21) It was Plxʷlaqs who was the

-s-łxʷ-ayx-aw ˀał-tXʷ (22) ci-ˀilitmay-tum-tū
-Der-carry on-LCRes-they Prep-then (22) Prox-ˀilitmay-CPass-NContr
cause of their carrying on then. (22) And also because of the one

(23) ˀilitmay ci-si-łxʷ-ayx-aw-tū
(23) ˀilitmay Prox-Der-carry on-LCRes-they-NContr
called Ilitmay. (23) Ilitmay is why they carried on.

(24) ˀanayk-aw s-ka-lip̓-ayx-s (25) ˀaw (26) mūs-āX-am-
(24) want-they Der-Unr-return-LCRes-she (25) yes (26) four-day-CD-
(24) They wanted her back. (25) Yes. (26) It was four

-s (27) n-mt-uc-ayx-s-tu-č̓ ta-staltmx-tX ...
-it (27) place-sit-opening-LCRes-he-Conf-Perf NProx-chief-Dist ...
days. (27) The chief...Pułas, sat in front of his house again.

pułas (28) ʔał-ʔay-s-tu-č ał-tXʷ (29) mūs-āX s-ʔał-ay-s
pułas (28) Res-do-he-Conf-Perf Prep-then (29) four-day Der-Res-do-he
(28) He did like that again then. (29) He did like that again

x-tXʷ (30) ʔaXʷ ti-ka-ʔil-us-ay-nix-t (31) pāXu-
Prep-then (30) Neg Prox-Unr-pass-front-Aux-LC-he/him (31) fear-
for four days. (30) No one could get past him. (31) They

-naw (32) mūs-āX-am-s-tu-č (33) wal-is-lū-tu-
-they (32) four-day-CD-it-Conf-Perf (33) leave-he/it-Pers-Conf-
were afraid. (32) Four days passed again. (33) He went away again.

-č (34) ƛap-aw-tu-č (35) qʷlxʷ-uł-cut-aw-tu-č
-Perf (34) go-they-Conf-Perf (35) gather-direction-Refl-they-Conf-Perf
(34) They went again. (35) They gathered together again.

(36) ʔusikāX-am ʔn ta-staltmx-tXʷ (37) nu-māsk
(36) go into forest-CD and NProx-chief-Dist (37) human-many
(36) He went into the forest with the chiefs. (37) How many now?

(38) ʔałqlaXł-mx-tū (39) snXł-mx ʔūl-Xł
(38) ʔałqlaXł-inhabitant-NContr (39) snXł-inhabitant Prep-upriver
(38) The AłqlaXł as well. (39) The SnXł upriver.

(40) qāXmac-mx-tū (41) nusq̇lst-mx (42) čXmayx s-
(40) qāXmac-inhabitant-NContr (41) nusq̇lst-inhabitant (42) true Der-
(40) The QāXmac, too. (41) The Nusq̇lst. (42) Truly all

-xsūc s-qʷlxʷ-uł-cut-s ʔał-q̇umq̇uts ʔał-tXʷ s-ʔałał-
-all Der-gather-direction-Refl-he Prep-q̇umq̇uts Prep-then Der-Res Redp-
of them gathered at Q̇umq̇uts then to say what they would then.

-cim-aw x-a-s-ƛyuk-aw ʔał-tXʷ (43) ci-xnas tu-
-talk-they Prep-Prox-Der-talk-they Prep-then (43) Prox-woman NProx-
(43) The children who

-łixłikʷ tu-mamnc-tXʷ (44) tu-xnas-uks-tXʷ si-łxʷ-
-important NProx-child Redp-Dist (44) NProx-woman-Pl-Dist Der-carry on-
were important were female. (44) The women were why they carried

-ayx-aw   (45) mūs-āX-am-s-tu-č̓   (46) ƛ̓ap-s-tu-č̓   s-
-LCRes-they   (45) four-day-CD-it-Conf-Perf   (46) go-he-Conf-Perf   Der-
on.   (45) Four days passed again.   (46) He went to sit in front

-ka-n-mt-uc-ayx-s-tu-č̓   (47) pułas-su-č̓
-Unr-place-sit-opening-LCRes-he-Conf-Perf   (47) pułas-Expb-Perf
of his house again.   (47) It was Pułas again.

(48) nax-liwa-s   a-č̓kta   ał-tXʷ   (49) ƛ̓ap-s   ti-nu-maw
(48) ready-Sim-it   Prox-happen   Prep-then   (49) go-he   Prox-human-one
(48) What would happen then was decided.   (49) One of the men went.

ti-ƛ̓msta   (50) way   (51) napamxʷ-ił-č̓   si-ʔał-ʔay-s   ti-
Prox-person   (50) OK   (51) find out-we/it-Perf   Der-Res-do-he   Prox-
(50) OK.   (51) We found out now why the chief...Pułas, is

-staltmx-t̓ayx   ...pułas   (52) nu-wina-yk-kʷ   t̓ayx
-chief-Prox   ...pułas   (52) internal-invade-internal-Quot   this one
acting like that.   (52) He wants to invade right now.

ʔałʔaysč̣̓   (53) way-lit-aw   tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ   (54) qʷlxʷ-uł-
right now   (53) OK-say-they   NProx-person-Dist   (54) gather-direction-
(53) The people agreed.   (54) The boats were

-im-č̓   ta-łalas-uks-tXʷ   (55) tka-tn-uks-tū   tXʷ
-Pass-Perf   NProx-boat-Pl-Dist   (55) shoot-Inst-Pl-NContr   they
gathered.   (55) And the guns, too.

(56) sxʷm-ta   tXʷ   (57) wix-kʷ-lu-č̓   a-sxʷm   ta-sxʷm-
(56) burn-Inst   they   (57) be it-Quot-Expv-Perf   Prox-burn   NProx-burn-
(56) There was powder.   (57) It was Plxʷlaqs' powder that they used to

-ta-ł-s   plxʷlaqs   wa-yus-tim   ʔał-tXʷ   (58) ƛ̓ap-aw   ʔał-
-Inst-Poss-her   plxʷlaqs   Prox-use-Pass   Prep-then   (58) go-they   Prep-
burn then.   (58) They went then.

-tXʷ   (59) nmp-imut-aw-č̓   uł-ta-łalas-uks-tXʷ
-then   (59) put into - Refl-they-Perf   Prep-NProx-boat-Pl-Dist
(59) They got into the boats.

(60) nax-l̓iwa-s a-č̓kta (61) č̓kt-aw ʔūł-syut (62) ƛ̓p-
(60) ready-Sim-it Prox-happen (61) reach-they Prep-syut (62) cut-
(60) Everything was ready. (61) They reached Syut. (62) One

-ał-m-s ta-maw-ał-tX (63) ʔałał-cim-s-ck
-conveyance-MP-it NProx-one-conveyance-Dist (63) Res Redp-talk-he-InfDub
of the canoes broke from the group. (63) The chief must have

ta-staltmx-tX ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-mulm-naw ał-tXʷ (64) ʔip̓-
NProx-chief-Dist Prep-then Der-Unr-dive-they Prep-there (64) grasp-
said that they were to dive there. (64) They

-it wa-mnłkʷa-łł-ck ʔal-as-aq̓ʷs-ck (65) ƛ̓aap-s-
-they/it Prox-hair-DP-InfDub Prep-Loc-bottom-InfDub (65) go-he-
grabbed the hair-like stuff on the bottom of the channel. (65) One of

-kʷ-k̓ʷ ti-nu-maw (66) ʔał-ʔip̓-a-s-tu-č̓ s-puƛ̓-
-Quot-Usit Prox-human-one (66) Res-grasp-Intr-he-Conf-Perf Der-come-
them went down. (66) He was holding it when he appeared in

-us (67) puƛ̓-us-tu-č̓ ti-nu-maw (68) ʔał-ʔay-s-
-surface (67) come-surface-Conf-Perf Prox-human-one (68) Res-do-it-
the water. (67) Another one surfaced. (68) It was done

-tu-č̓ ʔūł-ta-nu-maw-tX (69) ʔaXʷ ʔip̓-ay-layx-s
-Conf-Perf Prep-NProx-human-certain one-Dist (69) Neg grasp-Aux-IC-he
like that until they reached a particular one. (69) What's-his-name's

sūXi-s ʔna (70) ʔa···m ti-ʔaXʷ-ʔip̓-ay-layx-kʷ
younger brother what's his name (70) ʔa···m Prox-Neg-grasp-Aux-IC-Quot
-his
younger brother couldn't grab it. (70) A···m was the one who couldn't

(71) q̓ʷXʷ-m-aw ʔac ʔał-tXʷ (72) tm-ʔay-anm-
(71) move-MP-they these ones Prep-then (72) just-do-LCDev-
grab it. (71) They moved on then. (72) They just went

-ūc-ł-a-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k ʔac ʔuł-nuyanc
-edge-Mid-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf these ones Prep-nuyanc
as far as Nuyanc.

(73) tq̓-aw (74) k̓matk-aw-lu-c̓
(73) land and tie up-they (74) stay overnight-they-Expv-Perf
(73) They landed and tied up. (74) They would stay overnight.

(75) sunxʷ-tū (76) ɬk̓m-s-kʷ s-ka-ɬm-s ʔuɬ-
(75) day-NContr (76) speak-he-Quot Der-Unr-stand-he Prep-
(75) It was still daylight. (76) He said that he would stand on the

-ta-kuɬ-ūc-tXʷ s-ka-nu-ʔun-āk-m-s ta-wina-
-NProx-surface-edge-Dist Der-Unr-agent-practice-hand-MP-he NProx-warrior-
beach so that the warriors could practice on him.

-tX x-cnɬ (77) ƛ̓ap-s ta-ƛ̓msta-tX s-ka-a-sq̓ʷ-s ʔaɬ-
-Dist Prep-him (77) go-he NProx-person-Dist Der-Unr-Loc-jump-he Prep-
(77) The man started to jump up and down on the beach.

-ta-kuɬ-ūc-tX (78) tka-nalus-tum-c̓ x-ta-nap-tXʷ
-NProx-surface-edge-Dist (78) shoot-try-CPass-Perf Prep-NProx-one-Dist
(78) A few guys tried to shoot what he had

ta-s-anu-q̓aw-īXʷ-s-tX (79) tka-yayx-s-kʷ ta-nu-
NProx-Der-Cont-put up-head-he-Dist (79) shoot-LCRes-it-Quot NProx-agent-
tied his hair up with. (79) His headband got shot.

-q̓aw-īXʷ-ta-s-tX (80) k̓matk-aw-ʔalu-c̓n ʔaɬ-tXʷ
-put up-head-Inst-his-Dist (80) stay overnight-they-Att-Impf Prep-there
(80) They didn't spend the whole night there.

(81) ƛ̓ap-aw-c̓ s-ka-q̓ʷXʷ-m-aw txuɬ-c (82) ʔnƛ̓-aɬ-
(81) go-they-Perf Der-Unr-move-MP-they further-here (82) night-travel-
(81) They started to move further on. (82) They traveled

-aw-c̓ s-q̓ʷXʷ-m-aw (83) nu-ɬnūs-aw-tū wa-tXaXāXɬ
-they-Perf Der-move-MP-they (83) human-two-they-NContr Prox-person from
at night. (83) Two people from the south are with

ʔal-a-ac (84) ʔaɬnayx-aw-tū ʔaɬ-ta-nuXalk-
the south Prep-Prox-here (84) accompany-they-NContr Prep-NProx-nuXalk-
them. (84) They were accompanying the Bella Coola

-mx ta-wina-tX (85) s···t ti-nu-maw (86) kʷ···a
-inhabitant NProx-warrior-Dist (85) s···t Prox-human-one (86) kʷ···a
war party. (85) S···t was one of them. (86) The

ti-nu-maw-č̓ (87) ƛ̓ap-aw ʔał-tXʷ (88) č̓kt-aw
Prox-human-one-Perf (87) go-they Prep-them (88) arrive-they
other one was Kʷ···a. (87) They went with them. (88) They arrived

ʔał-tXʷ (89) q̓ʷlas ti-umat-aw-ału s-wina-naw
Prep-then (89) strange Prox-get to-they-Att Der-invade-they
then. (89) The place they were to invade was foreign to them.

(90) ƛ̓ap-s-č̓ s···t s-ka-anayk-s s-ka-ay-ał-aw uł-ta-
(90) go-he-Perf s···t Der-Unr-want-he Der-Unr-do-foot-they Prep-NProx-
(90) S···t began to want them to go where he had made his home.

-sta-apsuł-s-tX (91) tu-sma-yus-ta-s-kʷ t̓ayx
-co-village-his-Dist (91) NProx-story-front-Inst-his-Quot this one
(91) His origin stories were the cause of his

si-łxʷ-ayx-s ʔał-tXʷ (92) ʔaXʷ nap-im ał-tXʷ
Der-carry on-LCRes-he Prep-then (92) Neg give-Pass Prep-then
going on the warpath then. (92) He was not given them.

(93) tx-amat-łł-s tXʷ (94) ʔay-ał-tus-č̓
(93) before-stay-DP-he there (94) do-foot-Che/him-Perf
(93) It was where he used to stay before. (94) He took the war party to

ta-wina-tX ʔuł-ta-kuł-ulmx-s-tX (95) ƛ̓ap-aw-č̓
NProx-warrior-Dist Prep-NProx-surface-earth-his-Dist (95) go-they-Perf
his home village. (95) They went to

s-ka-mus-m-aw ʔał-ta-ʔnƛ̓-tX (96) nu-łnūs-aw
Der-Unr-feel-MP-they Prep-NProx-night-Dist (96) human-two-they
spy about during the night. (96) There were two of them.

(97) ł···s ti-nu-maw (98) ʔaXʷ ałnap-ic ta-nu-maw-tX
(97) ł···s Prox-human-one (98) Neg know-I/him NProx-human-one-Dist
(97) One of them was Ł···s. (98) I don't know the other one.

(99) ʔał-mal-īXʷ-aw-č̓ ał-tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ (100) lip̓-cut-
(99) Res-mix-head-they-Perf Prep-NProx-person-Dist (100) return-Refl-
(99) They mixed with the people. (100) They returned

-aw ał-tXʷ (101) wix-i-č̓i-k s-č̓us-m-s-tu-č̓
-they Prep-then (101) be then-Contr-Perf Der-dark-MP-it-Conf-Perf
then. (101) That was when it was dark.

ʔal-a-ac (102) č̓us-m-s-č̓ (103) way-lit-aw-č̓
Prep-Prox-here (102) dark-MP-it-Perf (103) OK-say-they-Perf
(102) It was dark. (103) They said OK.

(104) way-lit-s-č̓ ta-staltmx-tn-aw-tX s-ƛ̓ap-aw-č̓n ʔał-
(104) OK-say-he-Perf NProx-chief-Inst-their-Dist Der-go-they-Impf Prep-
(104) Their chief approved their going then when they were ready.

-tXʷ s-nax-liwa-naw-č̓ (105) nu-mnsk-tim-č̓ ał-tu-
-then Der-ready-Sim-they-Perf (105) human-count-Pass-Perf Prep-NProx-
(105) The people had been counted in the

-suł-uks-tXʷ (106) s···a (107) ʔanu-sxʷƛ̓-liwa-na-
-house-Pl-Dist (106) s···a (107) Cont-be not enough-Sim-they-
houses. (106) It was S···a. (107) It appeared that they would

-kʷ-i-č̓i-k ŧ̓aXʷ ał-tXʷ (108) wix-ana-kʷ-ma-ku
-Quot-Contr-Perf those ones Prep-then (108) be they-they-Quot-Dub-Surp
be short of people then. (108) That must have been the

tXʷ wa-slaX-aw a-apsuł ał-tXʷ (109) łwałq̓-
they Prox-many-they Prox-live Prep-there (109) double layered-
location that had the largest number of inhabitants. (109) The door had

-kʷ ta-numucta-tX (110) tx-is-č̓ s···a ʔał-ta-tq̓ła-tX
-Quot NProx-door-Dist (110) cut-he/it-Perf s···a Prep-NProx-knife-Dist
another behind it. (110) S···a cut it with a knife.

(111) ʔalūX-anm-aw-č̓ (112) nu-tuin-nimut-s ta-nap-
(111) be behind-LCDev-they-Perf (112) agent-show-LCRefl-it NProx-thing-
(111) They got behind. (112) Something---whatever it was that

-tX	...ta-nu-twin-uc-tX	(113)	ɬxʷ-ayx-s	l···c
-Dist	...NProx-agent-show-mouth-Dist	(113)	jump up-LCRes-he	l···c
did it---made a noise.		(113)	L···c jumped up.	

(114)	way-lit-s-č	(115)	nu-ƛ̓Xm-īk-aw	aɬ-tXʷ
(114)	OK-say-he-Perf	(115)	internal-go off-internal-they	Prep-then
(114)	He said OK.	(115)	They burst in then.	

(116)	ʔaay-na-kʷ-lu-k̓ʷ	s-sunq̓-uc-aw	wa-axʷɬ	s-
(116)	do-they-Quot-Expv-Usit	Der-start Redp-mouth-they	Prox-some	Der-
(116)	Some of them were just yawning when they had their throats cut.			

-tx-apsm-tim-tu-č	(117)	txuɬ-ʔaylikt-aw	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	way	s-
-cut-neck-Pass-Conf-Perf	(117)	toward-long-they	Prep-then	OK	Der-
	(117)	The blood flowed for as long as they			

-Xʷm-s	a-six-ɬɬ	(118)	ʔas-ank-s	ta-apsuɬ-tX
-flow-it	Prox-blood-DP	(118)	Loc-front-its	NProx-village-Dist
were there.		(118)	He was in front of the village.	

(119)	ʔus-txʷ-ayx	(120)	tulu-s	(121)	ƛ̓ap-amk-is	s···a
(119)	Dir-inside-LCRes	(120)	succeed-he	(121)	go-Pat-he/her	s···a
(119)	He got inside.	(120)	He made it.	(121)	He got S···a.	

(122)	num-uc-it	(123)	ʔalūX-am-aw	s-us-txʷ-
(122)	close-edge-they/it	(123)	be behind-CD-they	Der-Dir-inside-
(122)	They closed the door.	(123)	They were the last to get inside	

-ayx-aw	aɬ-tXʷ	(124)	Xim-kʷ-lu-č	wa-sunxʷ-ac
-LCRes-they	Prep-there	(124)	dawn-Quot-Expv-Perf	Prox-day-Prox
there.		(124)	It was already breaking day.	

(125)	ƛ̓ap-s-č	s-ka-us-txʷ-s	ʔa···m	(126)	ʔanu-k̓ʷn-im
(125)	go-he-Perf	Der-Unr-Dir-inside-he	ʔa···m	(126)	Cont-point-Pass
(125)	A···m started to go inside.			(126)	A gun was pointed

x-ta-tka-ta-tX	(127)	ʔaɬ-k̓x-us-is	ta-as-tka-
Prep-NProx-shoot-Inst-Dist	(127)	Res-see-face-he/him	NProx-Loc-shoot-
at him.	(127)	He looked at the face of the one who	

-tn-ak-tX (128) ʔas-qat̓-a-s s-c̓im-ūs-s s-
-Inst-hand-Dist (128) Loc-squeeze-Intr-he Der-blink-face-he Der-
was holding the gun. (128) As he was pulling the trigger, he blinked,

-sq̓ʷ-s (129) ʔiƛ̓-cut-s (130) ʔalatk-nix-im x-tX
-jump-he (129) move-Refl-he (130) do wrongly-LC-Pass Prep-him
and he jumped. (129) He moved. (130) He was missed, and his younger

ʔūł-ta-sūXi-s-tX ta-tka-yayx (131) ʔaXʷ-tū
Prep-NProx-younger brother-his-Dist NProx-shoot-LCRes (131) Neg-NContr
brother was the one who got shot. (131) He did not

nu-sik̓a-yuc-tus-ck (132) ninic-ma-yał-tū ał-tXʷ
agent-hurt-edge-Che/him-InfDub (132) live Redp-Dub-Att-Conf Prep-then
die right away. (132) He must have lived for a while.

(133) ninic-kʷ-alu-tu ʔał-tXʷ ka-xł-qla-naw (134) ƛ̓ap-
(133) live Redp-Quot-Att-Conf Prep-then Unr-have-water-they (134) go-
(133) He would have lived then if they had had water. (134) S···a

-s-kʷ-c̓ s···a ʔal-a-ac s-ka-txaxpsm-tis wa-
-he-Quot-Perf s···a Prep-Prox-here Der-Unr-cut neck Redp-he/them Prox-
then began to cut each one's throat.

-nap-ac (135) ʔał-ʔay-naw-tū wa-axʷł-ac ʔal-a-
-individual-Prox (135) Res-do-they-NContr Prox-rest-Prox Prep-Prox-
(135) And the rest were doing the same in the other

-suł-uks-ʔac (136) łk̓m-s-kʷ ci-xnas-c̓ayx ʔuł-s···a
-house-Pl-Prox (136) speak-she-Quot Prox-woman-Prox Prep-s···a
houses. (136) This woman spoke to S···a.

(137) ka-nmx-nu-ks yāy s-wina-nu (138) nuXalk-
(137) which-inhabitant-you-Ind O Der-warrior-you (138) nuXalk-
(137) "Where are you from, O warrior?" (138) "I am

-mx-c cut-kʷ (139) ʔinu-wa-c̓ ła-stan-s s···t
-inhabitant-I say-Quot (139) you-question-Perf NProx-mother-his s···t
a Bella Coola," he said. (139) "Are you S···t's mother?" he said.

cut-kʷ-it-č̓i-k ł̓aX (140) łm-X ʔul-a-ʔałay-ac
say-Quot-Contr-Perf that one (140) stand-Impv Prep-Prox-over there-Prox
(140) "Stand up over here."

(141) łm-tutim-č̓ ta-snāX-ay-nix-tim-tXʷ (142) qʷlxʷ-
(141) stand-CPass-Perf NProx-slave-Aux-LC-Pass-Dist (142) gather-
(141) Those who had been taken prisoner were stood up. (142) They were

-uł-tim (143) tx-apsm-tim-kʷ-tū ta-axʷł ta-
-direction-Pass (143) cut-neck-Pass-Quot-NContr NProx-rest NProx-
gathered together. (143) And the rest of the women's throats were

-xnas-uks-tXʷ (144) ʔaXʷ anayk-aw-ck s-ka-snāX-aw-ck
-woman-Pl-Dist (144) Neg want-they-InfDub Der-Unr-slave-they-InfDub
cut. (144) They did not want them as slaves.

(145) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ tX ūł-ił (146) ʔix-nƛ̓-ał-m-im-k̓ʷ-ma
(145) go-he-Quot he Prep-her (146) Distb-night-foot-MP-Pass-Usit-Dub
(145) He went to her. (146) A young man had gone to her

ʔał-tXʷ x-ta-cāctī-tX (147) ʔip̓-als-ak-im-kʷ
Prep-then Prep-NProx-young person-Dist (147) grasp-side-hand-Pass-Quot
during the night. (147) The woman grabbed the

s···a x-ʔił-xnas-ił (148) wayx-kʷ s-ʔanu-liq̓ʷ-is
s···a Prep-NProx-woman-Dist (148) be a time-Quot Der-Cont-turn-he/it
blade of S···a's knife. (148) Then he twisted the knife.

ta-tq̓ła-ł̓aX (149) ʔaXʷ nu-ks-ak-ay-nix-is x-tXʷ
NProx-knife-Mid (149) Neg agent-pull-hand-Aux-LC-he/it Prep-then
(149) He could not pull it away.

(150) ʔał-q̓c-m-uc-kʷ ta-tq̓ła-tX (151) ka-ʔmt-s-
(150) Res-squeak-MP-edge-Quot NProx-knife-Dist (151) Unr-get up-he-
(150) The knife squeaked (against the bone). (151) The one who had

-kʷ-č̓akʷ ta-ix-nƛ̓-ał-m-t ił-ƛ̓msta-ył (152) sp̓-
-Quot-Opt NProx-[illegible]stb-night-foot-MP-he/her NProx-person-Dist (152) hit-
come to the woman during the night should have gotten up. (152) The

-ank-im-kʷ-alu   x-tX   ka-ʔmt-s   ta-cāctī-tX
-front-Pass-Quot-Att   Prep-him   Unr-get up-he   NProx-young person-Dist
youth was almost struck by him as he got up.

(153)   ƛ̓ap-s   s-ka-sq̓ʷ-s   uł-ta-kuł-als-tXʷ   (154)   nu-
(153)   go-he   Der-Unr-jump-he   Prep-NProx-surface-side-Dist   (154)   agent-
(153)   He started to jump against the wall.   (154)   He put

-sik̓a-yāq-uł-īqʷ-timut-s   (155)   nu-k̓m-ik-im   x-
-hurt-behind-around-head-CRefl-he   (155)   middle-bite-middle-Pass   Prep-
his head through.   (155)   He was caught by the board.

-ta-sč̓lāXłł-tX   (156)   ƛ̓ap-tus-kʷ-č̓   s-ka-nu-tx-ik-
-NProx-board-Dist   (156)   go-Che/him-Quot-Perf   Der-Unr-middle-cut-middle-
        (156)   S···a went ahead and cut him in half then.

-is-tu-č̓   s···a   ʔał-tXʷ   (157)   nu-xs-nm-s   a-
-he/him-Conf-Perf   s···a   Prep-then   (157)   agent-quiet-LCDev-it   Prox-
        (157)   Events quietened down.

-č̓kta   (158)   ƛ̓ap-tut-kʷ-alu-č̓   tu-xnas-uks   tu-snāX-tXʷ
-happen   (158)   go-Che/them-Quot-Att-Perf   NProx-woman-Pl   NProx-slave-Dist
    (158)   He sent the women prisoners ahead to try to launch a boat

s-ka-Xul-it   ta-maw-ał   ta-łalas-tX   (159)   ƛ̓ikm-
Der-Unr-launch-they/it   NProx-one-conveyance   NProx-boat-Dist   (159)   fast-
into the water.   (159)   They

-timut-aw   ʔał-tXʷ   (160)   tka-nalus-lx-tutit-tu-č̓-ck
-CRefl-they   Prep-then   (160)   shoot-want-Inch-Cthey/them-Conf-Perf-InfDub
were running away then.   (160)   They shot some of them then.

wa-axʷł   ʔał-tXʷ   (161)   puƛ̓-aw-č̓   s-ka-q̓ʷXʷ-m-aw-tu-čn
Prox-some   Prep-then   (161)   come-they-Perf   Der-Unr-move-MP-they-Conf-Impf
        (161)   They started coming back then.

ʔał-tXʷ   (162)   q̓ʷXʷ-m-aw-č̓   (163)   yayātwi-naw-č̓   ał-tXʷ
Prep-then   (162)   move-MP-they-Perf   (163)   happy-they-Perf   Prep-then
    (162)   They were moving.   (163)   They were happy then.

(164) wix-čn tXʷ s-sq̓-uc-m-aw łaXʷ s-ka-
(164) be then-Impf then Der-start-mouth-MP-they those ones Der-Unr-
(164) That was when they began to sing.

-nuyamł-aw (165) qiXqīXast-am-a-kʷ-č (166) ˀaayaaa ...
-sing-they (165) rejoice Redp-CD-they-Quot-Perf (166) ˀaayaaa ...
(165) They rejoiced. (166) "Aayaaa ... so

ˀaanc-aluu-kuu-či ... ˀaayaaa ... ti-ˀumat-ayx-s ... ˀaayaaaaa
be I-Att-Surp-Perf ... ˀaayaaa ... Prox-get to-LCRes-he ... ˀaayaaaaa
it was me ... aayaaa ... who got them ... aayaaaaa ... as it was dawning

... ta-s-Xim-aw łaXʷ ... ˀaayaa (167) ˀnnn ... xiy ...
... NProx-Der-dawn-their those ones ... ˀaayaa (167) ˀnnn ... xiy ...
on them ... aayaa. (167) Nnn ... hey!...

xiy ... xiy (168) ˀaayaaa ... ˀnc-aluu-kuu-či ... ˀaayaaa ... ti-
xiy ... xiy (168) ˀaayaaa ... be I-Att-Surp-Perf ... ˀaayaaa ... Prox-
hey!... hey! (168) Aayaaa ... so it was me ...aayaaa ... who got them ...

-ˀumat-ayx-s ...ˀaayaaaa ... ta-s-Xim-aw łaXʷ
-get to-LCRes-he ...ˀaayaaaa ... NProx-Der-dawn-their those ones
aayaaaa ... as it was dawning on them."

(169) nuyamł-a-kʷ-č x-łaX (170) way (171) nunu-sq̓-
(169) sing-they-Quot-Perf Prep-that (170) OK (171) agent Redp-begin-
(169) They sang like that. (170) OK. (171) They began to

-āX-m-aw-č (172) xiy ... xiyxiy (173) puƛ-a-kʷ-
-distributed-MP-they-Perf (172) xiy ...xiyxiy (173) come-they-Quot-
shout. (172) "Hey!...heyhey!" (173) They moved on

-č s-ka-q̓ʷXʷ-m-a-kʷ-tu-čn ˀał-tXʷ (174) ˀil-us-
-Perf Der-Unr-move-MP-they-Quot-Conf-Impf Prep-then (174) pass-front-
then, coming back. (174) They were

-it-kʷ-tu-č ti-nuq̓ʷ-ał-tu-č ti-apsul-
-they/it-Quot-Conf-Perf Prox-divide-container-Conf-Perf Prox-village-
going by part of this village.

-kʷ-łayx (175) ƛ̓ap-ak-m-tim-ał-tu-č̓ s-ka-tka-nalus-tutim
-Quot-Prox (175) go-hand-MP-Pass-Att-Conf-Perf Der-Unr-shoot-want-CPass
(175) They were just about to go ahead and shoot at them again

ʔał-tXʷ (176) Xlq̓-īXʷ (177) way (178) nu-win-āx-
Prep-then (176) turn-head (177) OK (178) agent-invade-distributed-
then. (176) "Turn around. (177) OK. (178) Go ahead and invade

-m-X-aw s-wina-nu cut-kʷ ti-nap (179) Xlq̓-īXʷ-
-MP-Impv-Pl Der-invade-you say-Quot Prox-individual (179) turn-head-
again!" someone said. (179) He turned

-cut-s-kʷ-č̓ (180) ƛ̓ap-ak-m-tit-kʷ-tu-č̓ s-ka-
-Refl-he-Quot-Perf (180) go-hand-MP-they/them-Quot-Conf-Perf Der-Unr-
about. (180) They began to shoot at them again ...the people

-tkaka-tit ... ta-tXaXāXłł-tXʷ (181) wnč̓-m-
-shoot Redp-they/them ... NProx-people from the south-Dist (181) kill-MP-
from the south. (181) They

-a-kʷ ał-tXʷ (182) ka-tix-nu-slaX-a-kʷ-tu-č̓n
-they-Quot Prep-then (182) Unr-bring back-human-many-they-Quot-Conf-Impf
killed some then. (182) They got a lot of them then.

ał-tXʷ (183) x-nu-slaX-a-kʷ-tu-č̓ (184) lip̓-cut-
Prep-then (183) have-human-many-they-Quot-Conf-Perf (184) return-Refl-
(183) They had a lot of them. (184) One guy

-lx-s-kʷ-tu-č̓ ta-nap-tX (185) ʔissut-a-kʷ-č̓-
-Inch-he-Quot-Conf-Perf NProx-individual-Dist (185) row-they-Quot-Perf-
turned back. (185) And the slaves rowed

-tū tu-snaxsnāX-č̓n-tXʷ (186) ʔał-qʷlXʷ-a-kʷ-
-NContr NProx-slave Redp-Impf-Dist (186) Res-ask for help-they-Quot-
then. (186) They're helping now.

-č̓-tū (187) ʔaX-kʷ-č̓ ʔanayk-aw s-ka-ałma-naw
-Perf-NContr (187) Neg-Quot-Perf want-they Der-Unr-die-they
(187) They don't want to die.

(188) sq̓ʷ-s-kʷ-č̓   iłʔaył   ... ʔił-nu-maw   ił-snāX-ił
(188) jump-she-Quot-Perf   that one ... NProx-human-one   NProx-slave-Dist
(188) She ... one of the slaves, jumped into the water.

uł-ta-qla-tXʷ   (189) ʔip̓-us-m-s-kʷ-č̓   ʔał-ta-
Prep-NProx-water-Dist   (189) grasp-surface-MP-she-Quot-Perf   Prep-NProx-
(189) She held on to some seaweed.

-snač̓aymaq̓ʷs-tXʷ   (190) nu-mnł-a-t-ik-m-is-
-long brown seaweed-Dist   (190) internal-pay-Intr-Tr-internal-MP-she/it-
(190) She figured out when they would get

-ck   s-ka-ik̓ł-lx-ī-naw   ta-nap-tXʷ   (191) puƛ̓-
-InfDub   Der-Unr-near-Inch-Dim-they   NProx-individual-Dist   (191) come-
near.   (191) She

-us-timut-s-kʷ-č̓   (192) nmp-ay-nix-im   x-ta-
-surface-CRefl-she-Quot-Perf   (192) put into-Aux-LC-Pass   Prep-NProx-
surfaced.   (192) She was pulled in by one of them.

-nap-tX   (193) ʔaX-kʷ-tu-č̓   ayk̓-s   s-ʔat̓ma-s
-individual-Dist   (193) Neg-Quot-Conf-Perf   be long time-she   Der-die-she
(193) It was not long before she died.

ał-tXʷ   (194) puƛ̓-a-kʷ-č̓   ał-tXʷ   tqʷnƛ̓   s-ʔisʔissut-
Prep-then   (194) come-they-Quot-Perf   Prep-then   this way   Der-row Redp-
(194) They came rowing this way then.

-aw   (195) čkt-aw   ʔūł-sqʷčīXʷnmsta   (196) ʔum-tutim-kʷ-č̓
-they   (195) arrive-they   Prep-sqʷč̓īXʷnmsta   (196) unload-CPass-Quot-Perf
(195) They arrived at Sqʷč̓īXʷnmsta.   (196) The heads were

ta-t̓nXʷ-łł-tXʷ   (197) qʷuč-īXʷ-tim-kʷ-č̓   (198) qʷuč-īXʷ-tim-
NProx-head-DP-Dist   (197) wash-head-Pass-Quot-Perf   (198) wash-head-Pass-
unloaded .   (197) They were washed.   (198) The heads were

-kʷ-č̓   ał-sqʷčīXʷnmsta   ʔał-tXʷ   (199) puƛ̓-a-kʷ-č̓
-Quot-Perf   Prep-sqʷč̓īXʷnmsta   Prep-then   (199) come-they-Quot-Perf
washed at Sqʷč̓iXʷnmsta then.   (199) They came this way then

tqʷnƛ̓ ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-cay-āk-m-tit (200) ɬima-t-im-
this way Prep-then Der-finish-hand-MP-they/them (200) claim-Tr-Pass-
when they had finished with them. (200) Someone tried to

-kʷ-alu-č̓ s···a x-ta-snāX-s-tX (201) ʔimmīk-ī-kʷ tX
-Quot-Att-Perf s···a Prep-NProx-slave-his-Dist (201) boy-Dim-Quot he
claim S···a's prisoner. (201) He was a boy, a

cācti̓ tX (202) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-alu-tu-č̓n s-ʔanayk-s s-ka-
young person he (202) go-he-Quot-Att-Conf-Impf Der-want-he Der-Unr-
youth. (202) He was about to go and cut his throat then.

-tx-apsm-lx-is ʔaɬ-tXʷ (203) ƛ̓ap-amk-is-tu-č̓
-cut-neck-Inch-he/him Prep-then (203) go-Pat-he/him-Conf-Perf
(203) He caught him again.

(204) ʔaXʷ-tXʷ ay-tuxʷ cut-m-im-kʷ x-ta-wina-tX
(204) Neg-Impv do-Cyou/him say-Tr-Pass-Quot Prep-NProx-warrior-Dist
(204) "Don't do it!" he was told by the war party.

(205) ƛ̓ap-amk-is-kʷ-č̓ s···s ta-cācti̓-tX (206) puƛ̓-
(205) go-Pat-he/him-Quot-Perf s···a NProx-young person-Dist (206) come-
(205) S···a got the youth. (206) They

-a-kʷ-č̓ tqʷnƛ̓ (207) č̓kt-a-kʷ-č̓n ʔac ʔuɬ-
-they-Quot-Perf this way (207) arrive-they-Quot-Impf these ones Prep-
came this way. (207) They reached the village at Q̓umq̓uts.

-ta-apsuɬ-tXʷ ʔaɬ-q̓umq̓uts (208) x-nu-maw-m-tim x-
-NProx-village-Dist Prep-q̓umq̓uts (208) have-human-one-Tr-Pass Prep-
(208) They had one fatality among

-ta-at̓ma-tX (209) sūXi-s ʔa···m (210) ʔaXʷ-i-
-NProx-die-Dist (209) younger brother-his ʔa···m (210) Neg-Contr-
them. (209) It was A···m's younger brother. (210) I don't

-č̓i-k aɬnap-ic a-č̓kta-tutim-č̓n-cki ʔaɬ-tXʷ tu-t̓nXʷ-ɬɬ-
-Perf know-I/it Prox-happen-CPass-Impf-InfDub Prep-then NProx-head-DP-
know what became of the heads then.

-tXʷ (211) ˀaɬ-q̓aw-tutim-alu-č̓ (212) puƛ̓-s-kʷ-č̓ ta-
-Dist (211) Res-put away-CPass-Att-Perf (212) come-he-Quot-Perf NProx-
(211) Maybe they're put away. (212) The one whose son it

-xɬ-mna-tX x-ta-cācti̅ ta-snāX-ay-nix-is s···a
-have-child-Dist Prep-NProx-young person NProx-slave-Aux-LC-he/him s···a
was S···a had taken prisoner came.

(213) ˀixās-nix-is-kʷ-č̓ (214) nuɬp-cut-s-kʷ-č̓ x-
(213) search-LC-he/him-Quot-Perf (214) load-Refl-he-Quot-Perf Prep-
(213) He was looking for him. (214) He had loaded his boat with

-a-sluq̓ (215) ˀanayk-s-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-akʷa-t-is ta-mna-
-Prox-grease (215) want-he-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-buy-Tr-he/him NProx-child-
grease. (215) He wanted to buy his son.

-s-tX (216) ˀaX-kʷ-ma aɬi-s ƛaX aɬ-ta-
-his-Dist (216) Neg-Quot-Dub be in a location-he that one Prep-NProx-
(216) Maybe he wasn't there in the village.

-apsuɬ-tX (217) ˀaɬ-ɬXan-m-s (218) puƛ̓-s (219) ˀa-
-village-Dist (217) Res-hunt-MP-he (218) come-he (219) Res-
(217) He was hunting. (218) He came. (219) S···a was

-ɬawps-ak-is-kʷ-tu-č̓ s···a ˀaɬ-tXʷ
-dissatisfied with offer-hand-he/it-Quot-Conf-Perf s···a Prep-then
dissatisfied with the offer then.

(220) ˀaX-kʷ cxʷi-nix-is ta-sluq̓-tXʷ (221) lip̓-cut-
(220) Neg-Quot be enough-LC-he/it NProx-grease-Dist (221) return-Refl-
(220) He didn't think the grease was enough. (221) The man from

-s-kʷ-tu-č̓ ta-tXaXāXɬɬ-tX s-kʷn-m-s-tu-
-he-Quot-Conf-Perf NProx-person from the south-Dist Der-carry-MP-he-Conf-
the south returned when he had gotten more.

-č̓ (222) ˀaɬ-q̓aw-tus-kʷ-ma tu-axʷɬ-tXʷ ˀal-a-
-Perf (222) Res-put away-Che/it-Quot-Dub NProx-rest-Dist Prep-Prox-
(222) Probably because he had the rest stored away where he had

-amat-s-tus si-aXʷ-tu-č̓ ayk̓-s ał-tXʷ (223) s-
-stay-it-Che/it Der-Neg-Conf-Perf be long time-he Prep-then (223) Der-
put it is why he was not gone long then. (223) The

-q̓łkʷ-ma-tū wa-axʷł-ck s-akʷa-s-ck ʔał-tXʷ
-clothes-Dub-NContr Prox-rest-InfDub Der-buy-he-InfDub Prep-then
rest, that he used to buy with then, was perhaps clothes.

(224) č̓kt-s-kʷ-č̓ ta-staltmx-tX (225) way-lit-s-kʷ-č̓
(224) arrive-he-Quot-Perf NProx-chief-Dist (225) OK-say-he-Quot-Perf
(224) The chief arrived. (225) S···a said all right.

s···a (226) ʔakʷa-t-im ta-snāX-s-tX (227) kʷn-ay-nix-im
s···a (226) buy-Tr-Pass NProx-slave-his-Dist (227) carry-Aux-LC-Pass
(226) His slave was bought. (227) The chief managed

ʔał-tXʷ s-kʷn-is-kʷ-č̓ ta-staltmx-tX (228) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-
Prep-then Der-carry-he/him-Quot-Perf NProx-chief-Dist (228) go-he-Quot-
to get him and carry him off. (228) He went

-č̓ uł-ta-kuł-ulmx-s-tX (229) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ ta-
-Perf Prep-NProx-surface-land-his-Dist (229) go-they-Quot-Perf NProx-
to his home village. (229) The Q̓umq̓uts people began

-q̓umq̓uts-mx-tXʷ s-ka-nuyamł-aw ʔal-ta-s-nƛ̓-tX
-q̓umq̓uts-inhabitant-Dist Der-Unr-sing-they Prep-NProx-Der-night-Dist
to sing during the night.

(230) qiXqīXast-am-aw-č̓ (231) kaw-im-kʷ-č̓-tū
(230) rejoice Redp-CD-they-Perf (231) carry-Pass-Quot-Perf-NContr
(230) They rejoiced. (231) Ilitmay had been brought back.

ʔilitmay-tu-č̓ (232) lip̓-ay-nix-im-kʷ-č̓ (233) ʔał̓ma-ku-
ʔilitmay-Conf-Perf (232) return-Aux-LC-Pass-Quot-Perf (233) die-Surp-
(232) She was gotten back. (233) "Plxʷlaqs

-ks plxʷlaqs ʔal-a-pacał cut-aw-k̓ʷ (234) ʔaX-kʷ anayk-s
-Ind plxʷlaqs Prep-Prox-first say-they-Usit (234) Neg-Quot want-she
died before we got there," they used to say. (234) Perhaps she didn't

s-ka-snāXsnāX-im-mas	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	ʔal-a-pacaɬ-cki	aɬ-tXʷ
Der-Unr-slave Redp-Pass-Abs	Prep-then	Prep-Prox-first-InfDub	Prep-then

want to be a slave at all then.

* * * * * *

A Rescue

I want to tell you about a rescue raid. There was a person named Plxʷlaqs who wanted to free a woman named Ilitmay from the Alert Bay people. She had been taken captive by some raiders from there and her family was ashamed. The chiefs' council wanted to go rescue her but they needed the cooperation of Puɬas, our greatest chief. Puɬas sat before his house thinking about the raid. He sat there for four days. No one dared to pass by him. No-one knew what he would do. People going upriver would get as far as his place and then they would turn back. No-one was brave enough to pass by him. After four days he met with the other chiefs in the forest to discuss the raid. In spite of the meeting, Puɬas still didn't agree to the raid and returned to his place in front of his house. He sat there four more days. As before, everyone was afraid to pass him. After the four days were up, he again met with the chiefs. This time they had come from all over, including the chiefs of AɬqlaXɬ, SnXɬ, QāXmac, and Nusq̓lst. They all gathered at Qumq̓uc to talk about getting Ilitmay back. After four days, Puɬas went back to his spot in front of his house and sat there. Finally the chiefs sent a man to find out what Puɬas was going to do. Puɬas got up from his place, tied on a headband, blackened his face with charcoal and put on his raiding clothes. He had decided to go through with the raid.

They made preparations for the raid. They gathered canoes, guns, and powder. They used Plxʷlaqs's powder. When everything was packed they set out. When they reached the place called Syut, one of the canoes broke off from the rest. Their chief ordered his men to dive there and grab ahold of the hairlike seaweed on the channel bottom. Everyone managed to do it except for A···m's younger brother. Afterwards they moved on and caught up with the main body of canoes and Nuyanc where they had tied up. They decided to practice. One of the warriors tied up his hair with a headband and told the others to practice shooting at him. He jumped around on the beach dodging their arrows as they tried to hit his headband. Finally one of them managed to hit it and they stopped the practice and rested. When night came they set out again. Two Alert Bay people were coming along with the Bella Coola raiding party. One was S···t; the other Kʷ···a. S···t came from the place where the raid was going to happen. His origin stories were supposed to come from there, but he had never been given them. It was because of this that he joined the raiders. They came upon the village and S···t was eager to see his home. The village was unfamiliar to the raiders so they sent out two scouts. One of them was Ł···s. I don't remember the name of the other one. They went and mixed in with the people of the village. When it was dark, they returned and reported. They had counted the number of people in their houses. There were a lot of people in the village and it looked as if the invaders might be a little short of people. However, Puɬas said they would attack as soon as they got ready.

They crept into the village. A man called S···a came to the biggest house. It had a double door which he cut open. Everyone lined up behind him. Suddenly there was a noise. Immediately L···c jumped up and gave the signal to attack. They burst into the houses. Inside the victims were sleepy and confused. Some were yawning as their throats were slit. It was the same everywhere. The warriors were slitting the village men's throats. In the foremost part of the village there was a house still untouched. Its door was closed. It was almost daybreak by now. A···m was trying to get inside when he saw someone inside aiming a gun right at him. He jumped aside and his younger brother, the one who had failed to touch the seaweed, took the shot instead. He didn't die right away and might not have died at all if they had had some water.

During the massacre, a woman called out to S···a. "Where are you from?" she asked. "Where do you come from, O warrior?"

"I am a Bella Coola," he answered. "Are you S···t's mother?" he asked. She said that she was. "Stand up over here!" S···a ordered the captives.

They were women and children. They gathered them together and the raiders began to slit their throats, all except for S···t's mother. One young boy hadn't gotten up when S···a had given the order. Now he jumped up and almost hit S···a. When S···a tried to stab the boy his mother grabbed the knife in her bare hand. S···a twisted the knife in her hand and tried to pull it free. He could not get it free. In the meantime the boy had jumped against the wall and put his head through it trapping himself there. They cut him in half.

Things then quieted down. Some woman captives from other houses tried to get away in a canoe. The raiders managed to shoot some of them.

Finally, they set out for home with the remainder of their captives, singing and rejoicing. As they passed another Alert Bay village, they saw some canoes coming after them. They turned about and attacked their pursuers, killing some and taking more captives. One boat from the village turned back. Even their slaves were rowing now for they didn't want to die. One of them, a woman, jumped overboard. She dove down to the bottom and held onto some seaweed there, surfacing only when she had figured out when the raiders' canoe would be above her. The raiders pulled her out, but she died shortly.

Continuing on their way the raiders stopped at Sqʷc̓īXʷnmsta where they unloaded and washed the scalps they had taken.

Finally they reached home. Immediately someone tried to claim one of S···a's captives, a boy. He was about to slit the boy's throat when the warriors told him not to. S···a got to keep the boy. Only one raider had been killed. It was A···m's younger brother.

Soon after the raid, a chief came to the village in a canoe loaded with grease. He was the father of S···a's captive. He had come to ransom the boy. S···a didn't think there was enough grease so the Alert Bay chief left and returned shortly with more. He probably had it cached nearby for he has been gone long. He also brought some clothes. This time S···a agreed to ransom the boy. The chief and his son returned to Alert Bay. The Bella Coola sang and rejoiced. Ilitmay had been rescued.

A Ransom and Some Trouble

(1) ˀal-a-ayk̓ slaX-s a-čkta al-a-kuł-ulmx-
(1) Prep-Prox-be long time many-it Prox-happen Prep-Prox-surface-earth-
(1) Long ago there were many things that happened here.

-ˀac (2) ˀay-naw x-tXʷ wa-nu-sX-tim ˀal-a-tk̓ił-
-Prox (2) do-they Prep-then Prox-agent-chase-Pass Prep-Prox-this side-
(2) It happened to those who were chased this side of Rivers

-āX-uc wanukʷ (3) nu-łnūs-aluł-a-kʷ ƚaXʷ (4) ˀas-
-behind-edge wanukʷ (3) human-two-boat-they-Quot those ones (4) Loc-
Inlet. (3) There were two of them in the boat. (4) The

-qayt-kʷ-i-či-k ta-ƛ̓msta-tX x-a-ˀay-uc-m-im s-
-hat-Quot-Contr-Perf NProx-person-Dist Prep-Prox-do-mouth-MP-Pass Der-
man was wearing a hat of the type called "Widebody"[piq̓uł].

-piq̓-uł-s (5) wa-as-qayt-m-is ta-ƛ̓msta-tX wa-si-
-wide-body-it (5) Prox-Loc-hat-Tr-he/it NProx-person-Dist Prox-Der-
(5) It was because the man was wearing the hat that he

-ip̓-ay-nix-im ˀał-tXʷ (6) ti-q̓akūł-tum ti-amat-alāXt-
-grab-Aux-LC-Pass Prep-then (6) Prox-q̓akūł-CPass Prox-stay-connection-
got taken then. (6) It was the one called Q̓akūł, who was

-s ˀił-q̓ʷalayakmis-ł-ił (7) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č ƚayx s-ka-
-her NProx-q̓ʷalayakmis-our-Dist (7) go-he-Quot-Perf this one Der-Unr-
the father of our Q̓ʷalayakmis. (7) He went and got himself captured

-ip̓-ay-nix-im ˀał-tXʷ (8) tix-nu-maw-m-im ta-
-grasp-Aux-LC-Pass Prep-Dist (8) bring back-human-one-Tr-Pass NProx-
then. (8) The man was the only one they caught.

-ƛ̓msta-tX (9) lip̓-ayx-kʷ-ku-ks ta-nu-maw-tX ˀul-
-person-Dist (9) return-LCRes-Quot-Surp-Ind NProx-human-one-Dist Prep-
(9) The other one got back here.

-a-axʷa   (10) ˀay-s x-tXʷ   s-tix-ˀał-ay-ak-
-Prox-surrounding area   (10) do-he Prep-then Der-bring back-Res-do-hand-
                           (10) It happened then that one of them got caught.

-m-tim   x-tX   ... ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   (11) ˀaX-kʷ-c̓   ti-ka-
-MP-Pass Prep-him ... NProx-person-Dist   (11) Neg-Quot-Perf   Prox-Unr-
                                              (11) Nothing was done to him

-c̓kta-tum   ł̓ayx   s-tm-ˀay-ł-s   x-tXʷ   s-ˀip̓-im
-happen-CPass   this one   Der-just-do-Mid-he   Prep-then   Der-grab-Pass
except that he was taken then.

(12) lq̓-ay-layx-a-kʷ-c̓   tu-smatmx-s-tXʷ   a-la-
(12) mind-Aux-IC-they-Quot-Perf   NProx-friend-his-Dist   Prep-Prox-
(12) His friends around here decided that it would be a good thing to

-axʷa   s-ya-s   s-ka-qʷlxʷ-cut-m-amk-it   s-
-surrounding area   Der-good-it   Der-Unr-gather-Refl-Tr-Pat-they/him   Der-
gather on his account to go get him from those who are further out from

-ka-kʷn-it   ˀūł-ti-tx-unikʷ-us-ił-
-Unr-bring-they/him   Prep-Prox-from-direction away from land-surface-we-
the mainland.

-ł̓ayx (13) ˀay-s   ˀał-tXʷ   s-qʷlxʷ-cut-a-kʷ-c̓   tu-
-Prox (13) happen-it   Prep-then   Der-gather-Refl-they-Quot-Perf   NProx-
       (13) It happened then that the women gathered to make different

-xnas-uks-tXʷ   s-ˀay-s   s-ka-ˀay-naw   s-ka-ł̓q-m-uks-aw
-woman-Pl-Dist   Der-happen-it   Der-Unr-do-they   Der-Unr-stick-MP-Pl-they
kinds of berry patties.

(14) nułp-im-kʷ-c̓   wa-łalas-ˀac   (15) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-c̓   wa-
(14) load-Pass-Quot-Perf   Prox-boat-Prox   (15) go-they-Quot-Perf   Prox-
(14) The boats were loaded.   (15) The ones who were to get

-kʷn-t   ˀał-tXʷ   ˀūl-a-tXaXāXłł-ˀac   (16) ƛ̓ap-
-get-they/him   Prep-then   Prep-Prox-person from the south-Prox   (16) go-
him then went to the people in the south.   (16) They

-a-kʷ-c̓ ʔac s-ka-nu-sX-tim-c̓ (17) c̓kt-a-
-they-Quot-Perf these ones Der-Unr-agent-chase-Pass-Perf (17) arrive-they-
got chased off. (17) They reached

-kʷ-c̓ ūl-a-tXaXāXł-ʔac (18) ʔinix-a-ī-
-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-person from the south-Prox (18) close-Intr-Dim-
the people from the south. (18) They were just

-kʷ-alu-c̓ s-ka-nu-ckʷ-lx-tutim ʔał-tXʷ (19) s-
-Quot-Att-Perf Der-Unr-place-heavy-Inch-CPass Prep-there (19) Der-
about sunk there. (19) They

-k̓ʷał-am-nimut-a-kʷ-c̓ al-tXʷ s-puƛ̓-lx-aw ʔu-tqʷnƛ̓
-settle-CD-LCRefl-they-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-come-Inch-they Dir-this
got things back in order as they came back this way to Rivers Inlet which

ʔūł-wanukʷ wa-umat-aw ʔał-tXʷ (20) ʔałi-na-
way Prep-wanukʷ Prox-get to-they Prep-then (20) be in a location-they-
they reached then. (20) They stayed at Rivers

-kʷ-i-c̓i-k ł̓aXʷ ał-wanukʷ ał-tXʷ (21) ʔuq̓X-tim-kʷ-
-Quot-Contr-Perf those ones Prep-wanukʷ Prep-then (21) call-Pass-Quot-
Inlet then. (21) The first ones

-c̓ tu-pacał-tXʷ (22) ʔałlulitxʷm (23) ʔałlulitxʷm-tum-
-Perf NProx-first-Dist (22) ʔałlulitxʷm (23) ʔałlulitxʷm-CPass-
were called. (22) It was Ałlulitxʷm. (23) She was called

-kʷ ʔiłʔaył ʔal-a-wik̓inXʷ-ac (24) ʔay-na-kʷ-c̓ x-
-Quot that one Prep-Prox-wik̓inXʷ-Prox (24) do-they-Quot-Perf Prep-
Ałlulitxʷm among the Rivers Inlet people. (24) They were put into the

-tXʷ s-nmp-tim ʔał-tXʷ (25) ʔaxʷsan-ta-m-tim-kʷ ʔac
-then Der-put into-Pass Prep-then (25) smart-Inst-Tr-Pass-Quot these
boat then. (25) They were taken to guide them

ʔūł-ta-apsuł-tXʷ (26) kaniłskapac ʔn ƛ̓ałakaʔilaqʷ
ones Prep-NProx-village-Dist (26) kaniłskapac and ƛ̓ałakaʔilaqʷ
to the village. (26) There was Kaniłskapac and ƛ̓ałakaʔilaqʷ.

(27) ʔaɬ-nmp-a-kʷ aɬ-ta-ƛ̓ap-tX (28) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ ʔal-
(27) Res-put into-they-Quot Prep-NProx-go-Dist (28) go-they-Quot Prep-
(27) They were put into the boat that went. (28) They went with the

-a-kʷn-m-ʔac ʔūl-a-s-č̓kt-a-kʷ aɬ-tXʷ ʔul-a-
-Prox-carry-MP-Prox Prep-Prox-Der-arrive-they-Quot Prep-then Prep-Prox-
ones who were to get (the man) to the place they reached then, to the

-as-ank-s ta-apsuɬ-tXʷ (29) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č̓ s-ka-Xul-
-Loc-front-its NProx-village-Dist (29) go-they-Quot-Perf Der-Unr-launch-
front of the village. (29) They began to launch boats toward

-cut-aw (30) puƛ̓-m-tim-kʷ-č̓ ac s-ka-winXɬa-
-Refl-they (30) come-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf these ones Der-Unr-aid a
them. (30) They were advanced upon as they were being helped.

-tim (31) ʔay-uc-aw s-winXɬa-
neighboring village-Pass (31) do-mouth-they Der-aid a neighboring
(31) They said that they were being "aided".

-tim (32) puƛ̓-m-tim-kʷ-č̓ ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-ka-nu-sX-
village-Pass (32) come-Tr-Pass-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-Unr-agent-chase-
(32) They were met then with the intention of being chased

-tim aɬ-tXʷ x-tXʷ (33) ʔaɬ-tX-ūXnk-īXʷ-a-kʷ-č̓
-Pass Prep-then Prep-them (33) Res-from-downward-head-they-Quot-Perf
off. (33) They ... the ones who were brought as

ɬaXʷ aɬ-ta-as-ik-s ta-ɬalas-tX ...
those ones Prep-NProx-Loc-long horizontal axis-its NProx-boat-Dist ...
guides, had their heads down on the bottom of the boat.

ta-axʷsan-ta-m-tim-kʷ-tXʷ (34) ʔaX-kʷ ƛ̓i-naw s-ka-
NProx-smart-Inst-Tr-Pass-Quot-Dist (34) Neg-Quot fast-they Der-Unr-
(34) They did not speak up right

-ɬ̓km-aw (35) ʔaɬ-ʔaxʷsnix-tit-kʷ-č̓ wa-ʔaɬʔaɬ-cim-ʔac
-speak-they (35) Res-hear-they/them-Quot-Perf Prox-Res Redp-talk-Prox
away. (35) They listened to those who were talking about what

s-ka-stam-s   ka-čkta-tutim   ʔał-tXʷ   (36)   ʔinix-wayx-k̓ʷ-
Der-Unr-what-it   Unr-happen-CPass   Prep-then   (36)   close-be a time-Quot-
was going to happen to them then.   (36)   They were just about

-i-lu-či-k   s-čkt-ak-m-tim   ƛaXʷ   ał-tXʷ   s-
-Contr-Expv-Perf   Der-arrive-hand-MP-Pass   those ones   Prep-then   Der-
to be attacked then when they spoke out.

-łk̓m-a-kʷ-č   ƛaXʷ   (37)   ya-yūc-ī-na-kʷ-tu
-speak-they-Quot-Perf   those ones   (37)   good-mouth-Dim-they-Quot-Conf
(37)   Those who spoke did it well.

wa-ałʔał-cim   (38)   ʔawa   cut-a-kʷ-čn   ƛaXʷ
Prox-Res Redp-talk   (38)   be near   say-they-Quot-Impf   those ones
(38)   Here is what they said.

(39)   ʔuq̓X-tinił   s-ka-axʷsan-ta-m-tinił   ʔuł-łup   x-a-ał-kʷn-
(39)   call-Pass   Der-Unr-smart-Inst-Tr-Pass   Prep-you   Prep-Prox-Res-carry-
(39)   "We were called by the ones who brought us to guide them to you,"

-tułt-ac   cut-kʷ-i-či-k   ił   (40)   cut-a-kʷ-i-či-k   tXʷ
-they/us-Prox   say-Quot-Contr-Perf   she   (40)   say-they-Quot-ContrPerf   they
a woman said.   (40)   They spoke then.

ał-tXʷ   (41)   čXmayx-kʷ   s-ʔał-ik̓-s   wa-łalas-uks-ac   x-a-
Prep-then   (41)   true-Quot   Der-Res-full-it   Prox-boat-Pl-Prox   Prep-Prox-
(41)   "Truly, the boats are full of food that has been

-snknix   wa-kaw-im-kʷ-ʔac   ti-s-n-ʔayaw-āX-im
-food   Prox-carry-Pass-Quot-Prox   Prox-Der-agent-trade-distributed-Pass
brought to trade to you for the one who will be taken back," one of the

ti-ka-kʷn-im-kʷ-ƛayx   ʔuł-łup   cut-kʷ-i-či-k   ʔił-nu-
Prox-Unr-take-Pass-Quot-Prox   Prep-you   say-Quot-Contr-Perf   NProx-human-
women said then.

-maw-ʔił   ʔał-tXʷ   (42)   ʔay-s-kʷ-č   tu-čkta-tXʷ   s-
-one-Dist   Prep-then   (42)   happen-it-Quot-Perf   NProx-happen-Dist   Der-
(42)   It happened then that events became quiet.

-ka-nu-xs-nm-s (43) ˀay-s-kʷ-č ał-tXʷ s-k̓ʷpst-
-Unr-agent-quiet-LCDev-it (43) happen-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-be in
(43) Events came to be calm again.

-ayx-s-tu-č wa-čkta (44) ƛap-tutim ˀac s-
order-LCRes-it-Conf-Perf Prox-happen (44) go-CPass these ones Der-
(44) They were taken and made to

-ka-ip̓-tim (45) tq̓-ayx-a-kʷ-č ˀal-a-as-ank-s
-Unr-grasp-Pass (45) land-LCRes-they-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-Loc-front-its
go. (45) They landed at the front of the village at the

ta-apsul-tX ˀal-a-tXaXāXłł-ˀac (46) ˀay-s-
NProx-village-Dist Prep-Prox-person from the south-Prox (46) happen-it-
people of the south. (46) It happened

-kʷ-č ał-tXʷ s-tix-ˀał-ay-ak-m-it łaXʷ
-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-bring back-Res-do-hand-MP-they/him those ones
then that they managed to get him back ... the man called Q̓akūł.

łaX ... ti-q̓akūł-tum-kʷ (47) ˀay-s-kʷ-č ał-tXʷ
that one ... Prox-q̓akūł-CPass-Quot (47) happen-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then
(47) It happened then that matters

s-k̓ʷpst-ayx-s wa-čkta ał-tXʷ (48) nu-sX-tim-
Der-be in order-LCRes-it Prox-happen Prep-there (48) agent-chase-Pass-
were put in order there. (48) They were chased

-kʷ łaXʷ ał-tXʷ (49) čXmayx-kʷ-č s-xsūc-aw wa-
-Quot those ones Prep-then (49) true-Quot-Perf Der-all-they Prox-
then. (49) All the people went inside one of

-ƛmsta s-us-txʷ-aw ˀūl-a-s-maw-ł wa-suł ał-
-person Der-Dir-inside-they Prep-Prox-Der-one-house Prox-house Prep-
the houses there.

-tXʷ (50) ƛap-tutim-kʷ-č ac s-ka-kulamk-tim
-there (50) go-CPass-Quot-Perf these ones Der-Unr-distribute-Pass
(50) They were taken to have distributed to them what had been

x-a-ał-kʷu-im-kʷ-ʔac (51) wa-l-s-ya-s-kʷ-ʔac
Prep-Prox-Res-bring-Pass-Quot-Prox (51) Prox- -Der-good-it-Quot-Prox
brought then. (51) It was a really good thing

s-č̓kta-s s-lip̓-ał-ayx-s t̓ayx ʔul-a-axʷa
Der-happen-it Der-return-foot-LCRes-he this one Prep-Prox-surrounding
that he got back here then.

ʔał-tXʷ (52) lip̓-ał-ayx-s-kʷ-č̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX
area Prep-then (52) return-foot-LCRes-he-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist
(52) The man ... who was that woman's father, got back

ul-a-axʷa ... ti-man-s ʔiłʔaył (53) ʔił-
Prep-Prox-surrounding area ... Prox-father-her that one (53) NProx-
here. (53) She

-nu-maw-ʔił ła-amat-alāXt-łł-ił ʔiłʔaył ʔał-ti-kuł-
-human-one-Dist NProx-stay-connection-DP-our that one Prep-Prox-surface-
was one of our parents around here.

-ulmx-t̓awt (54) ʔay-s-kʷ x-tXʷ s-k̓ʷał-am-s wa-č̓kta
-earth-here (54) happen-it-Quot Prep-then Der-better-CD-it Prox-happen
(54) It happened that things got back on track then.

ał-tXʷ (55) cacī-nix-ic-lu-k̓ʷu x-t̓aXʷ
Prep-then (55) finish Redp-LC-I/it-Expv-Usit Prep-those things
(55) I guess I'm finished with all of that.

(56) ʔanayk-c-i-č̓i-k s-ka-q̓ʷXʷ-uc-m-c ʔuł-ta-k̓ił-tX-
(56) want-I-Contr-Perf Der-Unr-move-mouth-MP-I Prep-NProx-without-from-
(56) And I want to go on to tell about those who were made to disappear.

-umat-tutim-kʷ-tXʷ (57) k̓ʷnta-cut-s-kʷ t̓aX ti-m•••a-
-get to-CPass-Quot-Dist (57) decide-Refl-he-Quot that one Prox-m•••a-
(57) The man who was called M•••a was planning

-tum s-ka-ƛ̓ap-aw ʔūł-ti-sp̓īXʷnmsta (58) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-alu-č̓
-CPass Der-Unr-go-they Prep-Prox-sp̓īXʷnmsta (58) go-he-Quot-Att-Perf
for a group to go to Sp̓īXʷnmsta. (58) My uncle wanted to

ta-sissi-łł-c-tX s-ka-anayk-s-kʷ ał-tXʷ s-ka-ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-
NProx-uncle-DP-my-Dist Der-Unr-want-he-Quot Prep-then Der-Unr-go-he-Quot-
go along with them to have a look at it.

-tū ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-anu-s-ʔał-lXʷ-m-is (59) sma-
-NContr Prep-then Der-Unr-Cont-Der-Res-examine-Tr-he/it (59) tell story-
(59) They had

-yūs-tim-kʷ-tū (60) ʔasulixc-tutim ʔał-ti-ʔumat-aw
-front-Pass-Quot-NContr (60) provision-CPass Prep-Prox-get to-they
been told stories about it. (60) They were provisioned for their

ʔał-tXʷ (61) ƛ̓ap-ayx-a-kʷ-č ta-mna-s ʔałlulitxʷm
Prep-then (61) go-LCRes-they-Quot-Perf NProx-child-her ʔałlulitxʷm
destination. (61) The son of Ałlulitxʷm and the son of NunuXimīXʷ got

ʔn ta-mna-s-kʷ nunuXimīXʷ (62) ƛ̓ap-ayx-a-kʷ-č ʔał-
and NProx-child-her-Quot nunuXimīXʷ (62) go-LCRes-they-Quot-Perf Prep-
to go. (62) They got to go with the ones

-tXʷ ʔał-tu-ƛ̓ap-tXʷ ʔuł-ti-sp̓īXʷnmsta (63) słaX-a-kʷ-
-then Prep-NProx-go-Dist Prep-Prox-sp̓īXʷnmsta (63) many-they-Quot-
who were going to Sp̓īXʷnmsta. (63) And there were

-tū wa-sucł-mx wa-ʔałnayx-ał ʔał-tXʷ (64) ti-
-NContr Prox-sucł-inhabitant Prox-accompany-travel Prep-them (64) Prox-
many Kimsquit people who went along with them. (64) The

-q···s-tum ... ti-q̓ʷalm-s-kʷ ʔił-lili-łł-ił ... ti-
-q···s-CPass ... Prox-older brother-her-Quot NProx-lili-DP-Dist ... Prox-
man named Q···s ... the older brother of Lili ... was one who got to go

-nu-maw ti-ƛ̓ap-ayx-kʷ ał-tXʷ (65) ʔay-s-kʷ-č ał-
-human-one Prox-go-LCRes-Quot Prep-them (65) happen-it-Quot-Perf Prep-
along with them. (65) It happened then that the

-tXʷ s-ʔa-suk̓-s-kʷ-č ał-tXʷ (66) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č ʔac
-then Der-Loc-blow-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then (66) go-they-Quot-Perf these
wind was blowing. (66) They began to be blown

s-ka-suk̓-tim   ʔüɬ-ti-ʔay-uc-m-im   s-ciɬik-tum   (67) ciɬik
Der-Unr-blow-Pass   Prep-Prox-do-mouth-MP-Pass   Der-ciɬik-CPass   (67) ciɬik
in the direction of the place called Ciɬik.   (67) They

cut-a-kʷ-k̓ʷ   (68) ʔaɬi-na-kʷ-i-c̓i-k   ʔaɬ-
say-they-Quot-Usit   (68) be in a location-they-Quot-Contr-Perf   Prep-
used to call it "Ciɬik".   (68) That is where they were when they tied

-tXʷ   s-ʔaɬ-tq̓-aw-c̓   aɬ-tXʷ   (69) c̓kt-a-kʷ-tu-
-there   Der-Res-tie up-they-Perf   Prep-there   (69) arrive-they-Quot-Conf-
up.   (69) Some people from the

-c̓   wa-tXaq̓ʷiɬ   aɬ-tXʷ   ta-umat-ayx-aw-c̓n-
-Perf   Prox-person from the north   Prep-then   NProx-get to-LCRes-they-Impf-
north arrived there as well.

-tXʷ   (70) ti-s···s-tum-kʷ   (71) ti-c̓···a-tum
-Dist   (70) Prox-s···s-CPass-Quot   (71) Prox-c̓···a-CPass
(70) It was the one named S···s.   (71) It was the man named C̓···a.

(72) ʔus-ʔuɬalXs-tutis-kʷ   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   a-s-xɬ-mna-lx-s
(72) Dir-blame-Che/them-Quot   NProx-person-Dist   Prox-Der-have-child-Inch-he
(72) The man blamed his children on the man called M···a.

ʔaɬ-tXʷ   ʔüɬ-ta-m···a-tum   (73) ʔay-uc-kʷ-c̓   s-tix-s
Prep-then   Prep-NProx-m···a-CPass   (73) do-mouth-Quot-Perf   Der-be he-he
(73) He said it was he who killed

tX   ti-nu-wnc̓-ak-t   x-tXʷ   ... x-tu-mamnc-s
he   Prox-agent-kill-hand-he/him   Prep-them   ... Prep-NProx-child Redp-his
them ... his children.

aɬ-tXʷ   (74) wa-ay-uc-m-im   si-ɬxʷ-ayx-tutis   ta-
Prep-then   (74) Prox-do-mouth-MP-Pass   Der-attack-LCRes-CPass   NProx-
(74) That is what they said was the reason he attacked the

-aɬnayx-aɬ-ayx-kʷ   tu-nuXalk-mx-tXʷ   (75) tm-
-accompany-travel-LCRes-Quot   NProx-nuXalk-inhabitant-Dist   (75) just-
Bella Coola who had gone along.   (75) They

-?ałnayx-ał-ayx-ł-a-kʷ ?ał-tX (76) nu-łnūs-a-kʷ
-accompany-travel-LCRes-Mid-they-Quot Prep-him (76) human-two-they-Quot
just happened to be along with him. (76) There were two

wa-xixnas-ī wa-ałnayx-ał-ayx ?ał-tXʷ (77) ci-
Prox-woman Redp-Dim Prox-accompany-travel-LCRes Prep-them (77) Prox-
women who had gone along with them. (77) One

-qʷaXʷałł-tum ci-kamał-qʷaXʷałł-tum ci-nu-maw ?n ?ił-
-qʷaXʷałł-CPass Prox-before-qʷaXʷałł-CPass Prox-human-one and NProx-
was called QʷaXʷałł, the previous one called QʷaXʷałł, and another woman

-nu-maw-s-ił (78) ?aXʷ ałnap-ic wa-skʷacta-s-cki
-human-another one-her-Dist (78) Neg know-I/it Prox-name-her-InfDub
who was with her. (78) I don't know what her name was.

čayx (79) ƛ̓ap-a-kʷ-č ał-tXʷ (80) ƛ̓ap-tutim-kʷ-č
this one (79) go-they-Quot-Perf Prep-them (80) go-CPass-Quot-Perf
(79) They had gone with them. (80) They were made to

t̓aXʷ s-ka-?ał-ip̓-uł-nm-tutim ?ał-ta-s-nƛ̓-tX
those ones Der-Unr-Res-take-round-LCDev-CPass Prep-NProx-Der-night-Dist
play lahal that night.

(81) ?ał-ip̓-uł-nm-a-kʷ-č ał-tXʷ al-a-kuł-
(81) Res-take-round-LCDev-they-Quot-Perf Prep-there Prep-Prox-surface-
(81) They played lahal there on the beach at night.

-ūc ?ał-ta-s-nƛ̓-tX s-Xʷism-aw (82) ?inix-a-?ī-kʷ-
-edge Prep-NPrep-Der-night-Dist Der-play-thev (82) close-Intr-Dim-Quot-
(82) Day had almost

-č s-ka-Xim-s wa-sunxʷ-ac s-aXc-m-aw ?ał-tXʷ
-Perf Der-Unr-dawn-it Prox-day-Prox Der-go to bed-MP-they Prep-then
come when they went to bed.

(83) suk̓-tn-uł-m-a-kʷ-č (84) ƛ̓ap-s-kʷ-č ti-
(83) blow-Inst-building-MP-they-Quot-Perf (84) go-he-Quot-Perf Prox-
(83) They had put up their tents. (84) The man named Q···s

-q···s-tum ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-ka-ʔusikāX-am-timut-s-kʷ-č̓
-q···s-CPass Prep-then Der-Unr-go into the forest-CD-CRefl-he-Quot-Perf
escaped into the forest then.

aɬ-tXʷ (85) ʔalač̓ī-tum-kʷ aɬ-tXʷ x-ta-nu-maw ta-
Prep-then (85) tell-CPass-Quot Prep-then Prep-NProx-human-one NProx-
(85) It was because he had been told by one of the people

-tXaq̓ʷɬɬ-tX ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-ka-wnč̓-tim ta-axʷɬ-
-person from the north-Dist Prep-then Der-Unr-kill-Pass NProx-remainder-
from the north that they would be killed that he tried escaping into the

-s-tXʷ si-ʔay-s-kʷ-alu aɬ-tXʷ s-usikāX-am-timut-
-his-Dist Der-do-he-Quot-Att Prep-then Der-go into the forest-CD-CRefl-
forest then.

-s (86) tx-aɬ-wix-ɬɬ-ak-k̓ʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k ŧ̓aX ta-
-he (86) from-Res-be there-DP-hand-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf that one NProx-
(86) He was shooting from the place that he was hiding

-amat-s-tXʷ s-ʔaɬ-ipu-cut-s ʔaɬ-tXʷ s-tkaka-ya-s
-stay-he-Dist Der-Res-hide-Refl-he Prep-then Der-shoot Redp-Intr-he
then.

(87) nu-ɬnūs-a-kʷ-č̓ wa-tka-yay-nix-tis ʔaɬ-tXʷ ...
(87) human-two-they-Quot-Perf Prox-shoot-Aux-LC-he/them Prep-then ...
(87) There were two people he ... the man ... Q···s managed to shoot

ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ... q···s (88) kamaɬ-k̓ʷaɬ-tn-uɬ-īXʷ-ayx-
NProx-person-Dist ... q···s (88) when-form-Inst-distributed-head-LCRes-
then. (88) Whenever their heads cast a shadow

-a-kʷ-lu-k̓ʷu ŧ̓aXʷ ʔaɬ-ta-suk̓-tn-uɬ-aw-tXʷ
-they-Quot-Expv-Usit those ones Prep-NProx-blow-Inst-building-their-Dist
on the side of their tent, they ... the people would then be

s-sp̓-uɬ-īXʷ-tim-kʷ-k̓ʷu ʔaɬ-tXʷ ... tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ
Der-strike-distributed-head-Pass-Quot-Usit Prep-then ... NProx-person-Dist
struck.

(89) ʔay-uc-kʷ-č̓   ta-nu-maw-tX   aɬ-tXʷ   aɬ-tu-
(89) do-mouth-Quot-Perf   NProx-human-one-Dist   Prep-then   Prep-NProx-
(89) One of the people from the north told about it then.

-tXaq̓ʷɬɬ-tXʷ   (90) k̓ʷn-us-nm-s-kʷ-alu-č̓
-person from the north-Dist   (90) direct-face-LCDev-he-Quot-Att-Perf
(90) He tried to show them the tree that

ʔaɬ-ti-qʷuɬ-is   ʔaɬ-ti-stn   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (91) qʷuɬ-is-kʷ
Prep-Prox-write-he/it   Prep-Prox-tree   Prep-there   (91) write-he/it-Quot
he had written on there.   (91) He had written

ʔaɬ-ti-stn   ti-k̓ʷn-us-nm-kʷ-alu   aɬ-tXʷ   (92) ʔaX-
Prep-Prox-tree   Prox-direct-face-LCDev-Quot-Att   Prep-there   (92) Neg-
on the tree he tried to show them there.   (92) Those

-kʷ-m-i-lu-č̓i-k   kal-aɬ-m-it   tu-ʔixixās-nm-
-Quot-Dub-Contr-Expv-Perf   meet-foot-MP-they/it   NProx-search Redp-LCDev-
from Rivers Inlet who went searching out there away from the mainland

-tXʷ   wixɬɬ-wanukʷ   ʔūɬ-ta-ʔunikʷ-ɬaXʷ   (93) cīX-
-Dist   Prep-wanukʷ   Prep-NProx-direction away from land-Mid   (93) dig a
did not find the spot.   (93) The

-ank-us-im-kʷ   ti-stn   aɬ-tXʷ   ti-umat-s-tutim-
hole-side-surface-Pass-Quot   Prox-tree   Prep-there   Prox-get to-it-CPass-
tree where they were put had been dug alongside of when they ... the

-kʷ-č̓   s-nuɬp-tim   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   ... tu-ƛ̓msta-tXʷ   (94) cay-
-Quot-Perf   Der-load-Pass   Prep-then ... NProx-person-Dist   (94) finish-
people were disposed of.   (94) "When

-ak-m-tim-č̓   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   s-ʔay-tutim   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   s-ƛ̓ap-tum-tu-
-hand-MP-Pass-Perf   Prep-then   Der-do-CPass   Prep-then   Der-go-CPass-Conf-
they were finished, a tree was rolled over on top of

-č̓   ta-stn̓-tX   s-ka-liq̓ʷ-im   ʔūɬ-ta-uč̓aluɬ-aw   aɬ-tXʷ
-Perf   NProx-tree-Dist   Der-Unr-roll-Pass   Prep-NProx-top-their   Prep-there
them there," this same one of the people from the north said

cut-kʷ-i-č̓i-k ti-tix ti-nu-maw ti-tXaq̓ʷłł
say-Quot-Contr-Perf Prox-be he Prox-human-one Prox-person from the
then.

ał-tXʷ (95) ʔaXʷ ałnap-ic s-walc-tum-cki ʔał-tXʷ
north Prep-then (95) Neg know-I/it Der-who-CPass-InfDub Prep-then
(95) I don't know what his name was.

(96) smatix-m-is-kʷ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ti-q···s-tum ... ti-
(96) friend-Tr-he/him-Quot NProx-person-Dist Prox-q···s-CPass ... Prox-
(96) The man ... this person from the north befriended the man called

-tXaq̓ʷłł-ƛ̓ayx (97) ʔay-s-kʷ-č̓ slaX-s a-
-person from the north-Prox (97) happen-it-Quot-Perf many-it Prox-
Q···s. (97) There were many things then that

-č̓kta ał-tXʷ ał-tXʷ (98) ʔay-s-kʷ-č̓ s-ʔay-s
-happen Prep-there Prep-then (98) happen-it-Quot-Perf Der-happen-it
happened there. (98) Those who were searching went all

a-mnta-naw wa-ixās-nm ʔał-ta-unikʷ-ƛ̓aXʷ
Prox-path-their Prox-search-LCDev Prep-NProx-direction away from land-Mid
over out there at the place called the "Passage"[ʔilusayxsta].

ʔal-a-s-ʔil-us-ayx-sta-tum ał-tXʷ (99) ʔixās-nix-tim
Prep-Prox-Der-pass-front-LCRes-Inst-CPass Prep-then (99) search-LC-Pass
(99) They were

ał-tXʷ (100) ʔaX-kʷ-č̓ k̓x-tim (101) s-maw-kʷ-
Prep-there (100) Neg-Quot-Perf see-Pass (101) Der-one-Quot-
searched for there. (100) They were not found. (101) There was

-i-lu-č̓i-k s-ʔaXʷ ʔumat-ał-aw ƛ̓aXʷ (102) wa-wix
-Contr-Expv-Perf Der-Neg get to-foot-they those ones (102) Prox-be
one place they did not get to. (102) That

wa-ʔay-uc-m-im ciłik-tum-kʷ wa-ʔamat-ak-m-tim
there Prox-do-mouth-MP-Pass ciłik-CPass-Quot Prox-stay-hand-MP-Pass
was the place called Ciłik where they were attacked then.

(103) cut-kʷ-č̓ ti-tix s-alačī-s ˀał-tXʷ (104) ˀay-lu-č̓
(103) say-Quot-Perf Prox-be he Der-tell-he Prep-it (104) do-Expv-Perf
(103) That's what the man said when he told about it. (104) č̓···a

č̓···a s-ˀaXʷ lip̓-ayx-s uł-ił-xnas-s-ił (105) ˀay-s-
č̓···a Der-Neg return-LCRes-he Prep-NProx-wife-his-Dist (105) do-he-
never did get back to his wife. (105) What

-kʷ-lu-č̓ x-tXʷ s-wal-is ˀił-xnas-s-ił ˀał-
-Quot-Expv-Perf Prep-then Der-leave-he/her NProx-wife-his-Dist Prep-
he had done was to leave his wife with the Bella Bella.

-lq̓ʷlas-mx (106) wa-slaX-a-kʷ wa-s-xł-mna-
-strange Redp-inhabitant (106) Prox-many-they-Quot Prox-Der-have-child-
(106) There were many children that he had

-lx-s łaX ˀał-ˀiłˀaył (107) ˀay-uc-kʷ ˀał-tXʷ s-
-Inch-he that one Prep-that one (107) do-mouth-Quot Prep-then Der-
by her. (107) Someone said that it was the

-tix-s ta-m···a-tum-tX ti-ˀay-ak ˀał-tu-mamnc-s-
-be he-he NProx-m···a-CPass-Dist Prox-do-hand Prep-NProx-child Redp-his-
man named M···a who had done it to his children.

-tXʷ (108) ˀał-łukʷala-s-kʷ ti-ƛ̓msta (109) ˀay-uc-m-
-Dist (108) Res-medicine man-he-Quot Prox-person (109) do-mouth-MP-
(108) He was a medicine man. (109) What they were

-tim-kʷ-č̓ s-tat-īXʷ-tis way wa-mamnc-s-kʷ
-Pass-Quot-Perf Der-throw Redp-head-he/them OK Prox-child Redp-his-Quot
said to have had done to them was "he threw at their heads".

łaX ˀał-tXʷ (110) ˀał-ˀay-uc-aw-it-k̓ʷu-k x-ac
that one Prep-then (110) Res-do-mouth-they-Contr-Usit Prep-these things
(110) That is how my old folks would talk when

ta-łłk̓ʷlx-łaXʷ s-ˀalačī-tumant-k̓ʷ ta-łłk̓ʷlx-
NProx-old person Redp-Mid Der-tell-Cthey/me-Usit NProx-old person Redp-
they used to tell me about these things.

-tn-iɬɬ-c-ŧaXʷ ʔaɬ-tXʷ (111) nu-ɬnūs-aw wa-ƛ̓ap-ayx ...
-Inst-DP-my-Mid Prep-then (111) human-two-they Prox-go-LCRes ...
(111) QʷaXʷuXʷani and the one called

qʷaXʷuXʷani ... sniniq̓ākas ... sniniq̓ākas-tum (112) ta-q̓ʷalm-
qʷaXʷuXʷani ... sniniq̓ākas ... sniniq̓ākas-CPass (112) NProx-older
Sniniq̓ākas ... Sniniq̓ākas were two who got to go. (112) He was Annie's

-s ʔiɬ-ani-ɬɬ-iɬ (113) tix-kʷ tX ti-nu-maw
brother-her NProx-ani-DP-Dist (113) be he-Quot he Prox-human-one
older brother. (113) He was one.

(114) puƛ̓-s ti-mna-s sliXʷlikʷ (115) slaX-a-kʷ-tū
(114) come-he Prox-child-his sliXʷlikʷ (115) many-they-Quot-NContr
(114) SliXʷlikʷ's son came. (115) And there were many

wa-sucɬ-mx wa-ƛ̓ap-ayx aɬ-tXʷ (116) nu-ɬnūs-a-
Prox-sucɬ-inhabitant Prox-go-LCRes Prep-then (116) human-two-they-
Kimsquit who got to go. (116) There were two sons

-kʷ-tū wa-mamnc-s ci-salxāk-tum wa-ƛ̓ap-ayx aɬ-
-Quot-NContr Prox-child Redp-her Prox-salxāk-CPass Prox-go-LCRes Prep-
of the woman called Salxāk who got to go as well.

-tXʷ (117) puƛ̓-a-kʷ-č̓ wa-tXaq̓ʷɬɬ-ac s-
-then (117) come-they-Quot-Perf Prox-person from the north-Prox Der-
(117) The people from the north came for the man ... Č̓···a to

-ka-qʷi-nimut-s-č̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX ... č̓···a (118) ʔas-aq̓ʷ-
-Unr-deny-LCRefl-he-Perf NProx-person-Dist ... č̓···a (118) Loc-lock up-
deny it. (118) He was in

-līkʷ-kʷ-č̓ s-qʷi-nimut-s-kʷ-č̓ ul-a-axʷa
-everyone-Quot-Perf Der-deny-LCRefl-he-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-surrounding
the presence of a policeman when he denied that he had killed them.

s-ka-wnč̓-tis (119) cacī-s-kʷ-č̓ x-tXʷ
area Der-Unr-kill-he/them (119) finish Redp-it-Quot-Perf Prep-it
(119) That was the end of the trouble then.

wa-tlpl-kʷ	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	(120)	ʔaɬ-ʔay-uc-aw-k̓ʷ	x-ac
Prox-trouble-Quot	Prep-then	(120)	Res-do-mouth-they-Usit	Prep-these
		(120)	That's how my old folks	would

	t̓aXʷ	s-ʔalac̓ɬ̄-tumant	tu-ɬlk̓ʷlx-tn-iɬɬ-c-
things	those ones	Der-tell-Cthey/me	NProx-old person Redp-Inst-DP-my-
speak of these things		when they would tell me about them.	

-t̓aXʷ	(121)	ʔaɬ-ʔay-s	ti-s-q̓ay-naw	ʔaɬ-tXʷ	(122)	tm-
-Mid	(121)	Res-happen-it	Prox-Der-troubled-they	Prep-then	(122)	just
	(121)	They would do that when they were troubled.			(122)	In

-s-maw-āX-aɬ-ɬ-aw	wa-ya	wa-mamnc	ʔaɬ-tXʷ
-Der-one-day-travel-Mid-they	Prox-good	Prox-child Redp	Prep-then
just one day, the good children were no more.			

s-q̓ʷala-naw	(123)	way
Der-be no more-they	(123)	OK
	(123)	OK.

* * * * * *

A Ranson and Some Trouble

A lot of things happened here in the old days. Once, two of our people were out in a canoe. One of them, Qakuɬ, the father of our Qʷalayakmis, was wearing a wide brim hat. It was because of this hat that he and his companion were pursued by the TXaXāXɬ this side of River's Inlet. His companion escaped and made it back here, but they captured Qakuɬ and took him back to their village.

His friends decided to ransom him. They collected some valuables, and the women made berry cakes. They loaded the boats and set off for the village of the TXaXaXɬ. On the way the canoes were almost swamped, but finally they made it to River's Inlet where they stayed. They asked for guides to take them to the TXaXāXɬ. Aɬlulitxʷm, Kaniɬskapac and ƛaɬakakaʔilaqʷ came along as guides and go-betweens. It was long before they met a party of TXaXāXɬ sent out to chase them away. The guides had kept low in the canoes and instead of speaking up right away, they listened to the TXaXāXɬ talking among themselves to discover their intentions. When they heard that the TXaXāXɬ planned to attack the ransom party, they spoke out, saying, "We were called upon to guide these people to you. These boats are truly full of food to ransom the one you captured."

The TXaXāXɬ settled down and led them to their village. Everything was put in order and Q̓akuɬ was ransomed and returned home.

That's all there is to that story. Now I'd like to tell about the ones that disappeared.

A man named M···a was planning to go to Sp̓īXʷnmsta. My uncle wanted to go along to have a look at the place. There had been stories about the place and he was curious. They gathered provisions for the trip. Q···s, the older brother of L···i, A···m's son, N···Xʷ's son and a lot of Kimsquit people got to go along.

Soon after they had set off, the wind came up and they began to be blown towards the place called Ciɬik. They tied up there. Soon some people from the North arrived there too. Among them was a man named C̓···a. He held M···a responsible for the death of his children. At first he said nothing about it. They played lehal that night on the beach until it was almost dawn. They put up tents and went to bed. One of the Northern People warned Q···s that his companions were to be killed in their sleep. Q···s escaped into the forest. The Bella Coolas were then attacked in their tents. The Northern People waited for their shadows to fall on the sides of the tents and then shot them one after the other. Their bodies were thrown into a pit and a tree was rolled over on top of them. Only Q···s survived. Some River's Inlet people came and searched for the Bella Coolas, but they couldn't find them. They looked everywhere except at Ciɬik.

The man who had lost his children, C̓···a, never got back home to his wife. He had left her at Bella Bella. She had borne him many children. M···a was supposed to have smashed in their heads. That's how the old folks would talk when they told me this story.

Łmlikʷ Becomes Ninicmlayx

(1) way (2) ʔanayk-c-su-č̓ s-ka-ʔalač̓ī-c (3) tm-ʔalač̓ī-ł-c-k̓ʷ
(1) OK (2) want-I-Expb-Perf Der-Unr-tell-I (3) just-tell-Mid-I-Usit
(1) OK. (2) I want to tell some more. (3) I was just

x-a-s-cay-uł-ī-c-ʔac (4) ʔał-ʔay-kʷ-k̓ʷ ti-łmlikʷ-
Prep-Prox-Der- -direction-Dim-my-Prox (4) Res-do-Quot-Usit Prox-łmlikʷ-
mentioning this story. (4) This happened to a man

-tum wixłł-snXłł ʔūl-a-axʷa ʔal-a-ayk̓
-CPass Prep-snXłł Prep-Prox-surrounding area Prep-Prox-be long time
named Łmlikʷ on his way here from SnXłł long ago.

(5) ʔay-uc-a-kʷ-č̓ s-tix-s-kʷ ti-ix-łm-likʷ
(5) do-mouth-they-Quot-Perf Der-be he-he-Quot Prox-Distb-stand-everyone
(5) They said anyone who came here visiting people at night was "Goes

ti-ix-nƛ̓-ał ʔūl-a-tuxʷa ał-tXʷ (6) k̓x-is-kʷ-č̓
Prox-Distb-night-foot Prep-Prox-here Prep-then (6) see-he/him-Quot-Perf
about-standing up-everyone"[ixłmlikʷ] then. (6) He saw the one

ŧ̓aX ti-s-ʔaŧ̓ma-tum ʔał-tu-mamntn-ī-tXʷ ʔal-a-ac
that one Prox-Der-die-CPass Prep-NProx-path Redp-Dim-Dist Prep-Prox-here
called Death on his way here.

(7) ʔas-mamnta-tu ał-tXʷ ʔūl-Xł ʔal-a-ac ʔał-
(7) Loc-path Redp-Conf Prep-then Prep-upriver Prep-Prox-here Prep-
(7) There was in fact a path upriver here a long time ago.

-ta-ayk̓-tXʷ (8) ʔał-k̓x-ic-tu ał-tXʷ tu-mamntn-
-NProx-be long time-Dist (8) Res-see-I/it-Conf Prep-there NProx-path
(8) I actually saw the path there.

-ī-k̓ʷu-tXʷ (9) s-lq̓-ayx-c-č̓ ał-tXʷ (10) ƛ̓ap-s-
Redp-Dim-Usit-Dist (9) Der-mind-LCRes-I-Perf Prep-there (10) go-he-
(9) I remember it there. (10) This

-kʷ-č̓   ti-ƛ̓msta-ɬayx   s-ka-k̓x-is   ti-ƛ̓msta-ɬayx
-Quot-Perf   Prox-person-Prox   Der-Unr-see-he/him   Prox-person-Prox
man was going to see this other one.

(11) ʔay-s-kʷ   aɬ-tXʷ   s-ʔulX-anm-s-kʷ-ma   ta-
(11) do-he-Quot   Prep-then   Der-act irrationally-LCDev-he-Quot-Dub   NProx-
(11) It must have happened then that he passed out.

-ƛ̓msta-tX   (12) tix-kʷ-i-lu-č̓i-k-tu-č̓   ta-syut-tX
-person-Dist   (12) be he-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf-Conf-Perf   NProx-spirit-Dist
(12) It was a spirit.

(13) ti-p̓a-lx-alus-nix-t-kʷ-ma   ɬaX   ʔaɬ-tXʷ
(13) Prox-wake-Inch-want-LC-he/him-Quot-Dub   that one   Prep-then
(13) He was the one who was trying to wake him up then.

(14) p̓a-lx-alus-kʷ-tu-č̓   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   aɬ-tXʷ
(14) wake-Inch-want-Quot-Conf-Perf   NProx-person-Dist   Prep-then
(14) The man awoke again.

(15) ʔaɬʔaɬ-cim-s-kʷ-tu-č̓   ta-syut-tX   ʔuɬ-cnɬ
(15) Res Redp-talk-he-Quot-Conf-Perf   NProx-spirit-Dist   Prep-him
(15) The spirit was speaking to him.

(16) cy-us-im-kʷ-č̓   aɬ-tXʷ   x-ti-ʔay-uc-m-iɬ-ɬayx
(16) put-front-Pass-Quot-Perf   Prep-then   Prep-Prox-do-mouth-MP-we/it-Prox
(16) He was handed what we call "qč̓ač̓āy".

s-qč̓ač̓āy-s   (17) ʔaɬ-ʔay-nix-is-kʷ-č̓   x-ti-qč̓ač̓āy-tx
Der-qč̓ač̓āy-it   (17) Res-do-LC-he/it-Quot-Perf   Prep-Prox-qč̓ač̓āy-Prox
(17) He thought it was a qč̓ač̓āy.

(18) q̓ʷlas-alst-ī-kʷ-ma-tū   ʔaɬ-tXʷ   (19) cy-us-im-
(18) strange-Part-Dim-Quot-Dub-NContr   Prep-then   (19) put-front-Pass-
(18) It might have been something else.   (19) The man was

-kʷ-č̓   ta-ƛ̓msta-tX   (20) way   (21) ʔaɬ-ti-ka-anayk-m-
-Quot-Perf   NProx-person-Dist   (20) OK   (21) Prep-Prox-Unr-want-Tr-
given it.   (20) OK.   (21) "Whatever dead person

-ixʷ s-ka-nic-m-tuxʷ ti-ka-ałma s-ka-ˀmt-s-lu-
-you/him Der-Unr-live-MP-Cyou/him Prox-Unr-die Der-Unr-get up-he-Expv-
around here you may want to bring to life, making the dead person who

-č ti-ka-us-lX-āX-ik-am-
-Perf Prox-Unr-Dir-lay out straight-distributed-long horizontal axis-CD-
has been laid out get up, that is when you will hook it

-t ti-ka-ał-ałma-łayx ˀal-a-ac wix-i-či-k ac
-he/him Prox-Unr-Res-die-Prox Prep-Prox-here be then-Contr-Perf this
to me.

s-ka-ił-ixʷ łayx ˀuł-ˀnc (22) ˀay-uł-tuxʷ-
time Der-Unr-hook-you/it this one Prep-me (22) do-direction-Cyou/it-
(22) You will throw it

-č ˀul-a-as-an-c ka-ił-iXʷ ˀuł-ˀnc (23) wix-
-Perf Prep-Prox-Loc-corner-Prox Unr-hook-you/it Prep-me (23) be then-
into the corner when you hook it to me. (23) Then

-i-či-k ac s-ka-nic-m-s-č ti-ƛ̓msta-łayx cut-
-Contr-Perf this time Der-Unr-live-MP-he-Perf Prox-person-Prox say-
the man will come to life," the spirit said to him.

-kʷ-i-či-k ta-syut-tX ūł-tX (24) ˀay-k̓ʷ-i-
-Quot-Contr-Perf NProx-spirit-Dist Prep-him (24) happen-Quot-Contr-
(24) It happened then

-lu-či-k ał-tXʷ s-kma-layx-am-s ti-nu-maw ti-ƛ̓msta
-Expv-Perf Prep-then Der-hurt-IC-CD-he Prox-human-one Prox-person
that one of the people here in the village at Q̓umq̓uts became ill.

ˀał-ta-apsuł-tX al-a-ac ˀał-q̓umq̓uts (25) ˀay-s-kʷ-
Prep-NProx-village-Dist Prep-Prox-here Prep-q̓umq̓uts (25) do-he-Quot-
(25) It happened

-č ał-tXʷ s-ˀałmn-alst-aw wa-q̓umq̓uts-mx x-ti-
-Perf Prep-then Der-die-Part-they Prox-q̓umq̓uts-inhabitant Prep-Prox-
then that one of the people at Q̓umq̓uts passed away.

-ƛ̓msta (26) k̓ʷnta-cut-s-kʷ-č̓ t̓aX s-ka-nu-un-
-person (26) decide-Refl-he-Quot-Perf that one Der-Unr-agent-practice-
(26) He was planning to try it out then.

-cut-s ʔał-tXʷ (27) wa-s-ya-na-kʷ-alu s-ka-puƛ̓-aw
-Refl-he Prep-then (27) Prox-Der-good-they-Quot-Att Der-Unr-come-they
(27) It would be good for them to come and see

ʔał-tXʷ s-ka-k̓x-it (28) łuł-amk-it-kʷ-č̓ ta-
Prep-then Der-Unr-see-they/it (28) news-Pat-they/him-Quot-Perf NProx-
it. (28) They heard the news of the

-at̓ma-tX (29) ʔał-ʔip̓-is-kʷ-lu-ku-ks t̓aX ta-s-
-die-Dist (29) Res-grasp-he/it-Quot-Expv-Surp-Ind that one NProx-Der-
deceased. (29) He was holding on to the thing he had been given.

-cy-us-im-tX (30) ʔay-tus-kʷ-č̓ x-tXʷ s-nu-
-put-front-Pass-Dist (30) do-Che/him-Quot-Perf Prep-then Der-agent-
(30) He did it, hooking the one called Death

-łt̓-uł-lXs-ak-m-is ta-ay-uc-m-im s-ʔat̓ma-s
-hook-direction-nose-hand-MP-he/him NProx-do-mouth-MP-Pass Der-die-it
with the end of it ... the one named Death.

... s-ʔat̓ma-tum (31) ʔay-s-kʷ-č̓ ta-ƛ̓msta-tX s-nic-m-s
... Der-die-CPass (31) do-he-Quot-Perf NProx-person-Dist Der-live-MP-he
(31) The man came to life then.

ał-tXʷ (32) tix-kʷ-m-i-lu-č̓i-k t̓ayx (33) pāX-im-
Prep-then (32) be he-Quot-Dub-Contr-Expv-Perf this one (33) name-Pass-
(32) This one must have been the one. (33) He was

-kʷ-č̓ x-a-s-ninic-m-layx ... ninicmlayx-tum-kʷ-č̓
-Quot-Perf Prep-Prox-Der-live Redp-MP-IC ... ninicmlayx-CPass-Quot-Perf
named "The one who makes people come alive" ... the medicine man was

ta-ał-łukʷala-tX (34) tix-kʷ-i-č̓i-k ta-nu-maw
NProx-Res-medicine man-Dist (34) be he-Quot-Contr-Perf NProx-human-one
named Ninicmlayx. (34) He was one of our doctors around

ta-takʷta-ɬ-t̓aX	ʔal-a-axʷa	ti-si-us-1X-
NProx-doctor-our-Mid	Prep-Prox-surrounding area	Prox-Der-Dir-get out

here who got that spirit out.

-im-č̓	ta-syut-t̓aX
something put away-Pass-Perf	NProx-spirit-Mid

* * * * * *

Łmlikʷ Becomes Ninicmlayx

I want to tell you what happened to a man named Łmlikʷ long ago.

Łmlikʷ is a name they used to give anyone who roamed around at night. Well, Łmlikʷ was on his way here from SnXɬɬ walking along the path connecting SnXɬɬ and Q̓umq̓uc. There really was such a path upriver long ago. I actually saw it. He was on his way to see a friend when he came upon the one they call "Death" on the path. He passed out. He was revived by a spirit. The spirit handed him what we call a "q̓cač̓ay". At least he thought it was a q̓cač̓ay. It might have been something else. Then the spirit spoke to him saying:

"To bring the dead to life hook this (the q̓cač̓ay) to the corpse and me and throw it in a corner. Do this and the dead shall rise."

It happened here in Q̓umq̓uc that a man did get sick and died. Łmlikʷ decided to test his power. It would be good for the people of Qumq̓uc to see it at work. He went of Qumq̓uc and hooked the corpse to the one called Death with the q̓cač̓ay. He then threw it in a corner and immediately the dead man came back to life.

Łmlikʷ was given the name Ninicmlayx meaning "The one who makes people return to life." He was a shaman - one of our doctors who draw out spirits.

APPENDIX I: PARADIGMS

Bella Coola distinguishes three inflections: the Transitive, Intransitive, and Causative. They are all indicated by suffixation, and all allow both Declarative and Imperative moods. The Transitive and the Causative further distinguish a Passive voice from the Active. For the non-Passive forms of the Transitive and Causative inflections, each suffix indicates information of the person and number of the Agent("Subject") and also of the Patient("Object"). For example, kł 'drop' inflected by -tułt, i.e. kł-tułt, would be glossed as 'they drop us'. The spaces marked in the paradigms below by dashes(——) are formally filled by reflexive suffixes, i.e. Transitive -cut and Causative -timut, that then accept Intransitive inflection. Time(grammatical tense) is not formally signaled in Bella Coola, and a present time gloss, in place of any other, is determined by the context.

TRANSITIVE-Active.

	Patient	Sg			Pl		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Agent							
	1	——	-cinu	-ic		-tułap	-tic
Sg	2	-cxʷ	——	-ixʷ	-tułxʷ		-tixʷ
	3	-cs	-ct	-is	-tułs	-tap	-tis
	1		-tułnu	-ił	——	-tułap	-tił
Pl	2	-cap		-ip	-tułp	——	-tip
	3	-cant	-ct	-it	-tułt	-tap	-tit

TRANSITIVE-Passive.

	Sg	Pl
1	-tinic	-tinił
2	-ct	-tap
3	-im	-tim

TRANSITIVE-Imperative.

	Patient	Sg			Pl		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Agent							
Sg	2	-cX	——	-tX	-tułX		-tX
Pl	2	-caXʷ		-taXʷ	-tułaXʷ	——	-taXʷ

INTRANSITIVE

Agent	Sg	Pl
1	-c	-ił
2	-nu	-nap
3	-s ~ -Ø	-naw

INTRANSITIVE-Imperative.

Agent	Sg	Pl
2	-X	-naXʷ

CAUSATIVE-Active.

	Patient	Sg			Pl		
Agent		1	2	3	1	2	3
	1	——	-tuminu	-tuc	——	-tumułap	-tutic
Sg	2	-tumxʷ	——	-tuxʷ	-tumułxʷ	——	-tutixʷ
	3	-tum	-tumt	-tus	-tumułs	-tutap	-tutis
	1	——	-tumułnu	-tuł	——	-tumułap	-tutił
Pl	2	-tumanp	——	-tup	-tumułp	——	-tutip
	3	-tumant	-tumt	-tut	-tumułt	-tutap	-tutit

CAUSATIVE-Passive.

	Sg	Pl
1	-tuminic	-tuminił
2	-tumt	-tutap
3	-tum	-tutim

CAUSATIVE-Imperative.

	Patient	Sg			Pl		
Agent		1	2	3	1	2	3
Sg	2	-tumX	——	-tXʷ	-tumułX		-tutanX
Pl	2	-tumanX		-taXʷ	-tumułaXʷ	——	-tutanX

Bella Coola has a complex system of deixis employing both prefixed and suffixed elements. Semantically, a three-way distinction between Proximal, Middle, and Distal is maintained, as well as a distinction between Demonstrative (Demonst) and Non-Demonstrative (Non-Demonst). The semantics of the system is described in Davis and Saunders 1975.

DEIXIS.

	Proximal		Middle		Distal	
	Demonst	NDemonst	Demonst	NDemonst	Demonst	NDemonst
Masc	ti—t̓ayx	ti—tx	ta—t̓aX	ta—ɬ	ta—tix	ta—tX
Fem	ci—c̓ayx	ci—cx	ʔiɬ—ʔiɬʔayɬ	ʔiɬ—ɬ	ʔiɬ—cix	ʔiɬ—ʔiɬ
Pl	wa—ʔac	wa—c	ta—t̓aXʷ	ta—ɬ	ta—taX	ta—tXʷ

APPENDIX II: ABBREVIATIONS

Abs	Absolutive	LC	Limited Control
Att	Attemptive	LCDev	Limited Control Developmental
Aux	Auxiliary		
C	Causative	LCRes	Limited Control Resultative
CD	Controlled Developmental	Loc	Location
CPass	Causative Passive	MP	Mediopassive
CRefl	Causative Reflexive	Mid	Middle
Conf	Confirmative	NContr	Noncontrastive Conjunctive Particle
Cont	Continuative		
Contr	Contrastive Conjunctive Particle	NProx	Nonproximal
		Neg	Negation
DP	Distant Past	Opt	Optative
Der	Derivation	Part	Partitive
Dim	Diminutive	Pat	Patient
Dir	Direction	Perf	Perfective
Dist	Distal	Pers	Persistive
Distb	Distributive	Pl	Plural
Dub	Dubitative	Prep	Preposition
Expb	Expectable	Prox	Proximal
Expv	Expectative	Quot	Quotative
IC	Indirect Control	Recip	Reciprocal
Impf	Imperfective	Redp	Reduplicated
Impv	Imperative	Refl	Reflexive
Inch	Inchoative	Res	Resultative
Incomp	Incomplete	Sim	Simulative
Ind	Individuative	Surp	Surprisative
InfDub	Inferential Dubitative	Tr	Transitivizer
Inst	Instrument	Unr	Unrealized
Intr	Intransitivizer	Usit	Usitative

GLOSSARY

With the exception of the inflectional material that appears in the appendix, this glossary contains an entry for each minimum, meaningful element that occurs in the eighteen preceding texts. The organizational principle is this minimum element, the morpheme, rather than the word. This means in part that to find the meaning of a complex expression, the user should first look up the "root" morpheme; for example, to find ˀaɬ-k̓ʷn-uɬ-ūs-ak-is, one should look under k̓ʷn 'to show', rather than the prefix ˀaɬ-. This organization also has the result that each meaningful element, including prefixes and suffixes has its separate entry. Thus, to study, say, the usage of the suffix -us, one does not have to examine the entire glossary seeking words in which it appears. This has already been done, and the information appears within the entry for -us.

The texts are written in such a way that each distinct sound in Bella Coola is represented by a distinct symbol, and this notation differs slightly from the standard Latin alphabet. The following sequencing of letters is used:

a
ā
c
c̓
h
i
ī
k
k̓
kʷ
k̓ʷ
l
ɬ
ɬ̓
m
n
p
p̓
q
q̓
qʷ
q̓ʷ
s
t
t̓
u
ū
w
x
xʷ
X
Xʷ
y

There is an additional symbol, ˀ, that is ignored for the purposes of alphabeticization; for example, ˀixās will be found by first looking under i, while ˀaXʷ will be found under a. When two forms differ only in that one has ˀ and the other does not, the form with ˀ directly follows the one without it. Occasionally, the same sequence of sounds represents a root morpheme as well as a prefix and/or suffix. Prefixes are noted by placing a hyphen to the right of the form, e.g. aɬ-, and suffixes, by a hyphen to the left, e.g. -aɬ. All other entries represent root morphemes. Where homophony occurs, the sequence is first root, then prefix and suffix.

A brief and informal explanation may aid in understanding the transcription we have employed in representing the Bella Coola portion of the texts, especially the phonetic values and diacritics that depart from traditional usage. First, the vowels i, u, and a have roughly their "continental" values. When they appear with the macron, ¯, they are longer than otherwise and additionally have a characteristic falling pitch; further, long i and u are lowered in value to approximately e and o, respectively. The symbol ˀ (glottal catch) is a consonantal sound made by completely closing the glottis; it may be detected as the first sound in the pronunciation of English *mm* meaning 'no'. The symbol c represents the consonantal -*ts* sound of *cats* taken as a unit. Compare the initial sound of German *Zeit*. The ' that appears over several consonant symbols indicates that the consonant is an ejective. That is, for c, the tongue is placed against the upper teeth effectively blocking passage of air from the lungs beyond this point. Simultaneously, the glottis---the place ˀ is articulated---is closed, and the air trapped between the tongue closure and the glottis is compressed. The air is released when the tongue is released from its position. The symbol ł represents a voiceless lateral fricative; ƛ̓ is a voiceless lateral (ejective) affricate. The q indicates a voiceless stop consonant articulated farther back in the mouth than k; it is a uvular sound. The raised ʷ to the right of a consonant means that that consonant is pronounced with the lips rounded. The lower case symbol x stands for a voiceless velar fricative, roughly like the last sound of German *Bach*. The upper case X is a voiceless fricative like x, but articulated farther back in the mouth as q is.

Bella Coola, like many languages in the Pacific Northwest, does not strongly distinguish the traditional categories of noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. All roots may fulfill any of these functions. Where a Bella Coola form has an English equivalent that is considered to be a noun, the Bella Coola will contain that form alone, e.g., xnas: 'woman, wife', but where the English equivalent is verbal, e.g. 'to ...', the Bella Coola entry will contain information on inflection. Since Bella Coola lacks the infinitival form, the entry will be in the third person singular; and since Bella Coola distinguishes three possible inflections---the Intransitive, Transitive, and Causative---three possible inflectional forms may appear in an entry, i.e. -Ø, -is, -tus. Cf. APPENDIX. Within Bella Coola, those forms that have English nouns as translation equivalents function as Intransitive predicates; that is, xnas is strictly speaking xnas-Ø 'She is a woman.' Cf. Davis and Saunders 1978.

Each morpheme entry may contain a subentry showing the simple morpheme as it appears in combinations that are idiomatic or otherwise interesting. Both the first entry and any subentries will contain information to locate their occurrence within the texts. This is done by pairs of numbers in which the first identifies the text number and the second, the sentence number. For example, (13-59) means that the form preceding it appears in sentence (59) of the thirteenth text, i.e. Almci and the Wolves. This information is not provided for some morphemes, viz. very frequent forms such as prepositions, e.g. ʔaɬ-, and particles, e.g. -kʷ Quotative. Further, it is often helpful to know what one cannot say in a language as well as what is grammatical; and occasionally entries will contain one or more forms preceded by an asterisk to indicate their incorrectness.

- a -

a.	Cf. ʔay. (10-261).
ʔa-.	Cf. ʔaɬ-. Resultative. (1-41, 9-127, 9-183, 10-107, 10-108, 15-57, 16-219).
ʔa-.	Cf. ʔas-. (1-35, 16-77, 17-65).
-a.	Intransitivizer. (6-19, 7-61, 8-43, 8-44, 8-46, 9-49, 9-57, 9-67, 9-74, 9-82, 9-94, 9-95, 9-105, 9-233, 9-234, 10-48, 10-165, 10-209, 10-256. 14-18, 16-128, 16-190, 17-18, 17-82, 17-86).
-a.	Question.
-a.	Cf. -ma. (5-103).
ac.	Cf- ʔac.
ʔac.	'these ones, people, things; here; now, this time'. Cf. also APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.
aci.	Cf. ʔaci. (12-14).
ʔaci-Ø.	'to be in use (of vehicles), to ride in; vehicle' (9-198, 10-208, 10-212, 12-14); ʔaci-m-is 'to use, ride in something'.
ʔaciw.	ʔaciw-lt-Ø 'to be pregnant' (9-114, 9-115, 9-116, 9-117); ʔaciwa 'abdominal cavity'.
-ak.	'hand' (1-54, 1-68, 1-83, 1-93, 1-99, 1-103, 1-108, 1-149, 2-6, 2-34, 2-52, 2-83, 2-95, 2-122, 3-41, 3-42, 3-47, 3-80, 3-86, 3-88, 3-92, 3-96, 3-97, 5-30, 5-44, 5-59, 6-12, 6-13, 6-14, 6-20, 6-26, 7-14, 7-15, 7-37, 7-40, 7-42, 7-44, 8-14, 8-22, 8-41, 9-8, 9-10, 9-35, 9-39, 9-43 9-44, 9-138, 9-156, 9-176, 9-177, 9-179, 9-181, 9-182, 9-184, 9-211, 9-213, 9-214, 9-215, 9-216, 9-217, 9-219, 9-221, 9-222, 9-223, 9-224, 9-245, 9-246, 10-39, 10-72, 10-77, 10-79, 10-84, 10-85, 10-133, 10-136, 10-137, 10-144, 10-145, 11-10, 12-53, 12-77, 13-19, 13-35, 13-36, 13-40, 14-15, 14-29, 15-24, 15-28, 15-31, 15-33, 15-34, 15-54, 16-76, 16-127, 16-147, 16-149, 16-175, 16-180, 16-199, 16-219, 17-10, 17-36, 17-46, 17-73, 17-86, 17-94, 17-102, 17-107, 18-30).
ak̓a.	ak̓a-aɬ-tum 'to be taken' (9-15).

akʷa. Cf. ʔakʷa. (16-223).

ʔakʷa-Ø. 'to buy, make purchases' (12-87, 16-223); ʔakʷa-t-is 'to buy something' (16-215, 16-226); ʔakʷn-ay-nix-is 'to finally pay for something' (16-227).

ʔakʷn. Cf. ʔakʷa. (16-227).

al-. Cf. ʔał-. Preposition.

ʔal-. Cf. ʔał-. Preposition.

-ʔalaakt. 'wing' (4-8, 4-18).

ʔalač. Cf. ʔalačī. (2-96).

alačī. Cf. ʔalačī. (1-27, 12-2, 13-1, 15-2, 15-10, 15-26, 17-103).

ʔalačī-Ø. 'to say, tell' (1-2, 1-3, 2-96, 2-100, 2-106, 3-33, 4-1, 4-28, 4-29, 5-2, 5-7, 6-1, 12-2, 13-1, 13-2, 13-51, 14-53, 15-2, 15-26, 17-103, 18-2, 18-3); ʔalačī-tus 'to tell someone' (1-27, 10-2, 10-99, 10-192, 12-2, 13-47, 15-2, 15-10, 15-48, 17-85, 17-110, 17-120).

ʔalakt. Cf. ʔalatk. (11-48).

ʔalatk-Ø. 'to do something wrongly'; ʔalatk-m-Ø 'to do the wrong thing; to go and do the other thing'; ʔalatk-nix-is 'to miss throwing' (16-130); txuł-ʔalatk-m-Ø 'to not know what to do; to go and do the wrong thing' (11-48).

-alāqt. Cf. -alāXt. (12-35).

-alāXt. 'connection' (7-73, 9-4, 9-125, 10-68, 12-35, 17-6, 17-53).

-alic. 'tooth' (10-87, 10-88).

ʔalmci. A person's name. (13-2, 13-7, 13-26, 13-51, 14-1).

almk. Cf. ʔalmk. (5-88, 7-53).

ʔalmk-Ø. 'to pole upriver' (7-51, 7-53, 7-54); nu-almk-m-is 'to pole a canoe' (5-88, 5-90).

alq̓aw-tus. 'to store away to keep' (5-43). Cf. q̓aw.

-als. 'side, wall' (1-177, 5-60, 11-52, 11-65, 16-147), 'inside' (1-186); kuł-als 'side, wall' (2-92, 11-89, 13-4, 16-153).

-alst. Partitive. (1-5, 1-7, 1-8, 1-13, 1-21, 18-18, 18-25).

-alu. Attemptive.

-aluł. 'conveyance'; nu-łnūs-aluł-aw 'to be two people in the boat, car, etc.' (17-3).

-alus. 'want, try' (1-79, 9-245, 9-247, 16-78, 16-160, 16-175, 18-13, 18-14); ƛ̓msta-nalus-Ø 'to become human' (3-77, 3-78, 5-92, 7-12, 8-11, 9-246, 9-249).

-alus. 'piece, between' (3-47, 3-49, 7-59, 7-61, 8-26, 10-148, 10-149, 12-59, 12-78, 12-79, 14-26).

-alūs. Cf. -alus 'piece, between'. (14-26).

alūX. Cf. ʔalūX. (9-57, 9-62, 9-68, 9-73, 9-254, 10-200).

ʔalūX-Ø. 'to be behind' (9-62, 10-200); ʔalūX-am-Ø 'to be the last' (9-73, 16-123); ʔalūX-anm-Ø 'to get behind(in work)' (16-111); ʔalūX-ał-Ø 'to come behind, after' (5-103, 9-254); si-alūX-āX-łł 'location behind one, where one has been' (9-57, 9-68).

alx. Cf. ʔalx. (5-11, 12-88).

ʔalx-Ø. 'to be the same time'; ʔalx-mas-tu s-ʔay-s x-c 'That's always the time of year it happens'; ʔal-a-alx-ac 'at the same time (of a cyclical period, e.g. year, month, etc.)' (5-11, 12-88).

ał-. Cf. ʔał-. Preposition.

ał-. Cf. ʔał-. Resultative. (1-46, 1-81, 1-82, 6-11, 6-14, 9-186, 12-93, 13-36, 13-52, 14-28, 15-23, 15-25, 15-31, 15-33, 15-41, 15-65, 17-39, 17-86).

ʔał-. Preposition. 'with, at, on, about'.

ʔał-. Resultative.

-ał. Cf. -alu. (16-175). ƛ̓ap-ʔa-yał-tu 'Did he try to go?'

-ał. 'foot' (1-60, 1-122, 1-132, 1-133, 1-135, 1-166, 1-168, 1-174, 1-194, 1-196, 2-4, 2-5, 2-6, 2-54, 2-64, 2-80, 2-81, 2-100, 3-4, 3-5, 3-9, 3-10, 5-28, 5-103, 8-24, 8-34, 8-36, 9-15, 9-24, 9-25, 9-49, 9-194, 9-196, 9-254, 10-7, 10-9, 10-10, 10-20, 10-127, 10-153, 10-156, 10-157, 10-159, 10-160, 10-162, 10-172, 10-175, 10-176, 10-201, 10-227, 10-237, 10-246, 10-251, 10-253, 11-5, 11-6, 11-11, 11-58, 11-61, 11-84, 12-23, 12-49, 12-51, 12-74, 14-6, 14-15, 14-42, 15-17, 15-18, 15-37, 15-39, 15-40, 15-58, 15-60, 16-12, 16-14, 16-15, 16-90, 16-94, 16-146, 16-151, 17-92, 17-101); 'travel' (7-55, 7-75, 16-82, 17-63, 17-74, 17-75, 17-76, 17-122); conveyance, vehicle' (11-103, 14-47, 16-62, 16-158); 'container' (1-183, 1-188, 5-55, 16-174); 'column' (9-129, 9-133, 9-137).

-ʔał. Cf. -ał. 'foot'. (10-175, 10-176).

ʔałʔapq-Ø. 'to be brave, courageous' (16-16). *ʔapq-Ø, *ʔapq-m-Ø.

ʔałay. Cf. łay. (16-140).

ʔałʔaysč̓. 'right now' (1-83, 16-52).

ałi. Cf. ʔałi. (12-46, 12-68, 16-216).

ʔałi-Ø. 'to be in a location' (3-43, 5-83, 5-84, 7-31, 7-64, 7-69, 8-4, 9-31, 9-54, 9-87, 9-92, 9-113, 10-106, 11-45, 11-46, 12-46, 12-66, 12-68, 13-37, 16-216, 17-20, 17-68).

ʔałił-Ø. 'to stay' (1-191). Cf. ʔałi.

ʔałkusyuyutm. A person's name. (12-66).

ʔałk̓calus. A person's name. (7-59).

ʔałlulitxʷm. A person's name. (17-22, 17-23, 17-61).

-ałł. 'throat' (10-8, 11-111).

ałnap. Cf. ʔałnap. (1-6, 10-159, 10-164, 10-210, 11-5, 15-29, 16-10, 16-98, 16-210, 17-78, 17-95).

ʔałnap-is. 'to know something, someone' (1-6, 1-138, 2-4, 3-4, 3-10, 4-25, 7-9, 7-29, 9-115, 9-121, 10-159, 10-210, 11-5, 12-74, 15-29, 15-61, 16-10, 16-98, 16-210, 17-78, 17-95); ʔałnap--liwa-cut-Ø 'to realize, know what one is doing' (2-10, 9-113, 14-20).

ałnayx. Cf. ʔałnayx. (17-74, 17-76).

ʔałnayx-Ø. 'to accompany, go along with' (9-194, 16-84, 17-63, 17-74, 17-75, 17-76).

ałps. Cf. ʔałps. (10-62, 10-63, 10-199).

ʔałps-Ø. 'to eat' (3-22, 3-56, 3-57, 9-18, 9-102, 10-63, 15-9); ʔałps-tus 'to give someone something to eat' (6-9, 9-33); ʔałps-tum 'to be fed' (3-18, 3-32, 3-55, 9-16, 9-17, 9-97, 9-101, 10-62, 10-196, 10-197, 10-199).

ʔałq. 'elderberry' (3-20).

ʔałqlaXł. A location---village north of the Bella Coola River just above its mouth. Now deserted. Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 6 Vol. 1.

ałqʷała. Cf. ʔałqʷała. (9-178).

ʔałqʷała-Ø. 'to be told what to do'; ʔałqʷała-t-is 'to tell politely, hence, request of someone' (9-178). *qʷała-Ø.

-ału. Cf. -alu. (16-89).

aƛ̓. Cf. ʔaƛ̓a. (12-91).

ʔaƛ̓a-Ø. 'to build a canoe' (12-91); s-aƛ̓a 'canoe' (12-91).

ʔaƛ̓ciqʷla. A location. (16-1).

aƛ̓s. Cf. ʔaƛ̓s. (2-63, 12-74, 12-76, 14-9, 14-16).

ʔaƛ̓s-Ø. 'to be away from water; the direction away from water' (2-63, 12-53, 12-74, 12-76, 14-9, 14-16); ʔaƛ̓s-anm-ī-tus 'to get something a little away(a little farther away) from water' (13-15).

-am. Controlled Developmental. 'become' (1-121, 2-56, 4-14, 5-25, 5-26, 5-53, 5-103, 7-12, 7-20, 7-24, 7-36, 8-11, 8-18, 8-39, 9-51, 9-60, 9-62, 9-70, 9-71, 9-73, 9-75, 9-215, 9-216, 9-217, 10-12, 10-63, 10-64, 10-65, 10-172, 10-193, 10-259, 11-26, 11-28, 11-32, 11-35, 11-89, 13-6, 13-12, 14-19, 14-20, 14-43, 14-50, 14-51, 15-12, 15-13, 15-15, 16-19, 16-26, 16-32, 16-36, 16-45, 16-123, 16-165, 16-230, 17-19, 17-54, 17-84, 17-85, 18-21, 18-24).

ʔa···m. A person's name. (16-70, 16-125, 16-209).

amat. Cf. ʔamat. (1-150, 2-10, 3-40, 3-42, 7-51, 9-49, 9-111, 9-125, 9-129, 9-137, 9-175, 9-194, 9-197, 10-22, 10-68, 10-72, 10-75, 10-94, 10-172, 10-186, 10-206, 11-8, 12-70, 12-74, 13-23, 13-37, 14-15, 14-36, 16-93, 16-222, 17-6, 17-53, 17-86).

ʔamat-Ø. 'to stay' (1-71, 1-87, 1-150, 2-10, 3-40, 3-42, 5-42, 5-43, 7-51, 7-68, 9-49, 9-111, 9-129, 9-137, 9-175, 9-194, 9-197, 10-20, 10-22, 10-75, 10-94, 10-172, 10-186, 10-206, 10-236, 11-8, 11-58, 12-29, 12-49, 12-70, 12-74, 12-77, 13-16, 13-23, 13-37, 14-15, 14-36, 15-16, 16-93, 16-222, 17-86, 17-102); ʔamat-alāXt 'parent' (7-73, 9-125, 10-68, 17-6, 17-53); ʔamat-alāXt-timut 'foster parent' (9-4); ʔamat-aq̓ʷs 'where one usually sleeps' (10-72).

-amk. Patient. (2-123, 2-125, 3-20, 3-78, 3-98, 8-12, 8-49, 9-2, 9-5, 9-49, 9-51, 9-57, 9-59, 9-68, 9-74, 9-76, 9-229, 9-252, 10-71, 10-169, 10-171, 11-2, 11-42, 11-114, 12-15, 12-34, 13-42, 15-62, 15-67, 16-121, 16-203, 16-205, 17-12, 18-28, 18-37).

amł. Cf. ʔamł. (10-63).

ʔamł. 'summer' (5-25, 5-26, 5-69, 10-63, 10-64, 10-65).

ʔamłł. 'spring salmon' (10-61).

-amn. Cf. -anm. (10-182, 10-184).

-an. 'ear' (1-78, 3-27); 'corner' (2-85, 18-22).

ʔanana. 'Ouch!', a cry of pain. (9-246).

ʔananācnʔay. 'Oh no!' (9-146).

anayk. Cf. ʔanayk. (16-90, 16-144, 16-234, 17-58, 18-21).

ʔanayk-Ø. 'to want' (1-13, 1-18, 2-60, 3-53, 4-1, 5-58, 5-74, 6-9, 7-1, 8-11, 9-9, 9-202, 10-248, 10-249, 10-251, 13-50, 14-10, 16-1, 16-24, 16-90, 16-144, 16-187, 16-202, 16-215, 16-234, 17-56, 17-58, 18-2, 18-21); ʔanayk-m-is 'to want something, someone' (10-26, 12-2, 15-2).

-anāc. 'more than expected, really'; łk̓ʷ-anāc-Ø 'to be really big' (9-70).

ani. A person's name. (17-112).

-ani. Apparently meaningless filler in songs. (11-106, 11-110).

-anił. 'before' (4-16); snāX-anił-c-a-ku 'Was I a slave before?'

-ank. 'side' (4-25, 5-89, 5-91, 5-95, 5-96, 5-99, 7-69, 7-72, 12-22, 12-27, 12-47, 12-48, 13-3, 13-30, 14-30, 17-93); 'front' (16-118, 16-152, 17-28, 17-45); kuł-ank 'side' (5-44, 5-100, 5-102).

-anł. 'covering' (1-41, 1-192, 12-85).

-anm. Limited Control Developmental. 'get, become' (1-39, 1-179, 3-11, 5-3, 9-22, 9-69, 9-77, 10-99, 10-182, 10-184, 10-244, 12-18, 12-76, 12-93, 13-15, 15-50, 15-52, 16-13, 16-72, 16-111, 18-11).

anu-. Cf. ʔanu-. (1-149, 8-28, 8-38, 9-22, 11-35, 13-42, 16-78, 17-58).

ʔanu-. Continuative. (1-65, 1-67, 1-90, 1-92, 1-100, 1-106, 1-111, 1-149, 2-86, 3-97, 5-73, 7-33, 8-28, 8-38, 9-22, 9-151, 9-167, 10-47, 11-33, 11-35, 12-41, 12-42, 13-23, 13-30, 13-31, 13-37, 13-42, 14-19, 16-9, 16-78, 16-107, 16-126, 16-148, 17-58).

ʔanukalaɬɬni. 'center line of the throat' (1-104). Cf. kal, -aɬɬ.

anukali. 'middle' (2-109, 9-10). Cf. kal.

ʔanuk̓ʷpt-Ø. 'to have a full stomach, be sated' (9-34); s-ʔanuk̓ʷpt 'famine' (5-7, 5-8, 5-47, 5-71).

ʔanuɬt̓nank. Generally unknown. (1-31). McIlwraith (1948: 579 Vol. 2) records the following: "änułtınänk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one."

ʔanusik̓mlayx. A person's name. (12-66, 12-68).

ʔanuXimlīk. Anahim Lake. (2-63, 2-99).

anuXʷum. Cf. ʔanuXʷum. (1-45, 7-45, 8-25, 9-10, 11-9, 11-16).

ʔanuXʷum. 'river' (1-45, 1-121, 2-109, 2-111, 3-90, 5-3, 5-29, 5-31, 5-87, 5-97, 5-98, 7-45, 8-20, 8-25, 9-6, 9-10, 9-19, 9-35, 11-9, 11-16, 12-23). Cf. Xʷum, Xʷm.

aps. Cf. ʔaps. (10-20, 10-22, 11-66).

ʔaps-Ø. 'to shit' (10-17, 10-19, 10-20, 10-22, 11-63, 11-64, 11-66, 11-70, 11-71).

-apsm. 'neck' (16-116, 16-134, 16-143, 16-202).

ʔapsuw-is. 'to blow on something' (1-94, 1-96, 1-97, 9-252).

apsuɬ. Cf. ʔapsuɬ. (1-36, 7-31, 10-102, 10-141, 16-108, 16-174, 16-207, 16-216, 17-25, 17-28, 17-45, 18-24).

ʔapsuɬ-Ø. 'to reside, live' (1-27, 1-36, 1-71, 1-165, 7-31, 7-36, 7-68, 8-18, 9-111, 9-137, 10-206, 10-251, 11-33, 12-29, 16-90, 16-108), 'village' (2-39, 3-12, 3-91, 10-187, 15-10, 16-118, 16-174, 16-207, 16-216, 17-25, 17-28, 17-45, 18-24); sta-apsuɬ 'those who live in a village with one' (10-102, 10-141, 10-206, 10-251, 16-90).

apsw. Cf. ʔapsuw. (9-252).

aq̓ʷ. Cf. ʔaq̓ʷ. (9-63, 17-118).

ʔaq̓ʷ-is. 'to lock someone up(e.g. in jail)'; ʔaq̓ʷ-ayx-Ø 'to get tangled up' (9-78); ʔaq̓ʷ-līkʷ 'policeman'; ʔas-aq̓ʷ-līkʷ-Ø 'to be with a policeman' (17-118); ʔix-aq̓ʷ-ayx-Ø 'to keep on getting tangled up' (9-63).

aq̓ʷɬɬ. 'downriver' (3-90). Cf. taq̓ʷɬ.

-aq̓ʷs. 'bottom(e.g. of a body of water)' (11-18, 16-64).

-aq̓ʷs. 'eye' (1-90, 1-177, 9-166, 9-167, 10-72, 11-18, 15-55, 15-57), 'color' (11-106, 11-110).

as- Cf. ʔas-. (1-74, 1-87, 1-90, 6-1, 6-24, 7-37, 7-55, 9-33, 9-85, 9-99, 9-161, 10-125, 10-127, 10-150, 10-225, 11-12, 11-103, 15-35, 15-37, 15-39, 15-40, 15-60, 16-64, 16-127, 17-5, 17-33, 17-45, 18-22).

ʔas-. Location. (1-87, 1-90, 1-95, 1-183, 1-185, 1-191, 2-44, 2-70, 2-85, 3-57, 3-63, 3-64, 7-17, 8-7, 8-8, 9-33, 9-85, 9-99, 9-123, 9-156, 9-161, 10-125, 10-127, 10-150, 11-12, 12-38, 14-29, 15-37, 15-39, 15-40, 15-58, 15-60, 16-64, 16-77, 16-127, 16-128, 17-4, 17-5, 17-65, 17-118, 18-7); ʔas-an 'corner' (18-22); ʔas-ank 'front(toward the water side)' (16-118, 17-28, 17-45); ʔas-aq̓ʷs 'bottom(of water)' (16-64); ʔas-āX '(inside) bottom' (5-52); ʔas-cūc 'front' (15-35); ʔas-ik 'bottom' (17-33); ʔas-ik-nalus-Ø 'to be among' (12-78); ʔas-ik-ta 'bottom' (10-225, 11-103); ʔas-īXʷ 'head(of a valley)' (6-1, 6-6, 6-24, 7-1, 7-11, 7-32, 7-34, 7-37, 7-55, 7-64); ʔas-uc 'front' (1-74, 3-70, 9-20).

asikāX. Cf. ʔasikāX. (5-18, 10-4, 10-7, 10-158, 11-55, 14-6, 14-16, 15-6, 15-25).

ʔasikāX. 'forest' (5-8, 10-4, 10-7, 10-66, 10-158, 10-245, 11-55, 14-6, 14-16, 15-6, 15-25); ʔasikāX-aɬ-Ø 'to go through the forest' (14-6). Cf. ʔusikāX-Ø.

ʔaskaniqs. A person's name. (11-67, 11-93).

ʔasmūs. 'three' (9-215, 9-222).

astasɬ. A person's name. (4-5, 4-22).

ʔasulixc-tus. 'to provision someone' (6-4, 6-5, 7-11, 8-10, 17-60). Cf. ʔulix-is.

ʔasūɬikaɬɬ. 'throat' (1-125). Cf. -aɬɬ.

asxʷ. Cf. ʔasxʷ. (12-7, 12-12, 12-30, 13-4, 13-5, 13-8, 13-10).

ʔasxʷ. 'seal' (12-7, 12-9, 12-12, 12-15, 12-30, 13-4, 13-5, 13-8, 13-10, 13-23).

ʔat̓. 'herring roe' (15-6, 15-9).

at̓ma. Cf. ʔat̓ma. (9-230, 10-120, 16-187, 16-208, 18-21, 18-28).

ʔat̓ma-Ø. 'to die' (1-5, 1-7, 1-8, 1-13, 1-18, 1-19, 1-21, 1-34, 1-189, 3-75, 9-108, 9-149, 9-230, 10-74, 10-120, 10-146, 10-147, 10-238, 11-107, 12-60, 12-61, 13-10, 16-187, 16-193, 16-208, 16-233, 18-6, 18-21, 18-25, 18-28, 18-30).

ˀałmn. Cf. ˀałma. (1-5, 1-7, 1-8, 1-13, 1-21, 1-189, 3-75, 18-25).

ˀaw. 'yes' (2-37, 2-73, 3-35, 9-134, 10-44, 11-112, 12-95, 13-46, 16-25).

ˀaw-s. 'to be near to something, someone' (10-42, 10-239, 10-240). Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976.

-aw. Plural(second person, in commands and exhortatives). (1-142, 5-68, 7-50, 11-62, 16-178).

ˀawa. 'surrounding area' (11-47, 11-56, 17-38). Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976.

ˀawasti. A person's name. (7-6, 7-7).

ˀawł-is. 'to follow someone' (1-123, 1-146, 9-32, 9-63, 9-66, 9-102, 9-103, 15-21, 15-22, 15-23, 15-25); ˀał-ˀawł-tXʷ-ank-is 'to follow along side someone without his knowing' (12-22, 12-27); ˀał-ˀawł-tXʷ-ank-us-is 'to follow someone side by side'; ˀawł-tXʷ-uc-m-is 'to shout after someone' (11-96). *ˀał-ˀawł-ank-is.

ˀawxʷa. 'around here, surrounding area' (1-5, 1-6, 2-40, 4-10, 5-4, 5-72, 5-73, 5-75, 5-77, 5-80, 5-86, 5-88, 5-90, 5-92, 6-1, 6-3, 6-24, 7-32, 7-34, 7-37, 7-44, 7-55, 7-64, 7-76, 9-22, 12-18, 12-86, 17-9, 17-12, 17-51, 17-52, 17-118, 18-4, 18-34). Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976.

axʷa. Cf. ˀawxʷa. (1-5, 1-6, 5-4, 5-72, 5-73, 6-24, 7-32, 7-44, 12-18, 17-9, 17-12, 17-51, 17-52, 17-118, 18-4, 18-34).

ˀaxʷa. Cf. ˀawxʷa. (7-55).

aXʷł. Cf. ˀaxʷł. (1-162, 8-4, 11-21, 15-19, 16-116, 16-135, 16-143, 16-160, 16-222, 16-223, 17-85).

ˀaxʷł. 'the rest, remainder, some' (1-162, 5-53, 8-4, 11-21, 15-17, 15-19, 16-116, 16-135, 16-143, 16-160, 16-222, 16-223, 17-85).

axʷs. Cf. ˀaxʷs. (10-181, 10-188, 10-189, 10-200, 11-85).

ˀaxʷs-Ø. 'to shout, holler' (3-57, 3-58, 9-12, 9-13, 9-20, 9-29, 9-41, 9-52, 10-179, 10-181, 10-188, 10-189, 10-200, 11-23, 11-80, 11-81, 11-85); ˀaxʷs-m-is 'to shout, holler to someone' (9-51, 9-86, 9-142, 9-150).

axʷsan. Cf. ˀaxʷsan. (17-33, 17-39).

ˀaxʷsan-Ø. 'to be smart, know what one is doing' ; ˀaxʷsan-ta-m-is 'to take someone as a guide' (17-25, 17-33, 17-39).

ˀaxʷsnix-is. 'to hear something, someone' (3-11, 3-57, 3-63, 9-8, 9-13, 9-127, 10-43, 10-185, 12-43, 17-35); n-axʷsnix-ik-ūc-is 'to overhear someone' (15-6). Cf. ˀaxʷs-Ø.

aX̌. Cf. ˀaXʷ. (1-48, 12-55, 12-83).

ˀaX. Cf. ˀaXʷ. (1-33, 1-66, 1-67, 2-56, 2-83, 6-9, 6-16, 8-20, 8-22, 8-41, 9-22, 9-93, 9-105, 9-113, 9-118, 9-190, 9-204, 9-205, 9-218, 9-235, 10-65, 10-199, 10-201, 10-249, 11-5, 11-12, 11-22, 11-49, 11-60, 12-19, 12-72, 12-76, 13-7, 13-28, 13-37, 14-12, 14-13, 14-20, 14-44, 15-14, 16-187, 16-193, 16-216, 16-220, 16-234, 17-11, 17-34, 17-92, 17-100).

aXc. Cf. ʔaXc. (8-37, 10-42, 10-47, 10-63, 10-223, 17-82).

ʔaXc-Ø. 'to be lying down' (10-223, 10-224); ʔaXc-ik-ayx-Ø 'to go to bed on top' (8-37, 8-39, 8-40); ʔaXc-m-Ø 'to go to bed' (8-30, 8-31, 10-47, 10-49, 10-63, 10-225, 17-82); ʔaXc-m-ayx-Ø 'to succeed in getting into bed' (10-42, 10-45, 10-46, 10-50).

ʔaXcikayx. A person's name. (8-52).

aXʷ. Cf. ʔaXʷ. (8-51, 13-30, 16-222).

ʔaXʷ. Negation. 'no, not' (1-6, 1-33, 1-48, 1-50, 1-66, 1-67, 1-81, 1-82, 1-101, 1-117, 1-124, 1-180, 1-187, 2-4, 2-6, 2-10, 2-26, 2-27, 2-33, 2-56, 2-72, 2-83, 2-101, 3-4, 3-10, 3-11, 3-42, 3-44, 3-53, 3-57, 3-62, 3-67, 3-87, 4-3, 4-25, 5-3, 5-10, 5-11, 5-14, 5-25, 5-30, 5-33, 5-48, 5-55, 5-62, 5-66, 5-77, 5-80, 6-9, 6-16, 7-9, 7-20, 7-47, 7-49, 7-75, 8-12, 8-20, 8-22, 8-32, 8-42, 8-51, 9-22, 9-41, 9-78, 9-93, 9-99, 9-105, 9-113, 9-115, 9-118, 9-168, 9-181, 9-186, 9-190, 9-204, 9-205, 9-206, 9-208, 9-218, 9-221, 9-235, 10-12, 10-65, 10-67, 10-79, 10-98, 10-105, 10-159, 10-164, 10-199, 10-201, 10-210, 10-221, 10-232, 10-242, 10-249, 11-5, 11-12, 11-13, 11-14, 11-22, 11-49, 11-60, 11-95, 11-106, 11-110, 12-15, 12-19, 12-26, 12-55, 12-72, 12-76, 12-83, 13-7, 13-28, 13-30, 13-37, 14-12, 14-13, 14-15, 14-20, 14-44, 15-7, 15-11, 15-14, 15-29, 15-65, 16-10, 16-11, 16-16, 16-30, 16-69, 16-70, 16-92, 16-98, 16-131, 16-144, 16-149, 16-187, 16-193, 16-204, 16-210, 16-216, 16-220, 16-222, 16-234, 17-11, 17-34, 17-78, 17-92, 17-95, 17-100, 17-101, 17-104).

ay. Cf. ʔay. (9-22, 12-19, 12-90, 17-46, 18-30).

ʔay-Ø. ' to do, happen'; ʔay-ał-Ø 'to walk, go by foot' (2-5, 9-24, 10-127, 10-253, 11-6, 11-11, 12 74, 16-90); ʔay-uc-Ø 'to say' (1-56, 1-82, 1-154, 1-170, 2-10, 3-25, 3-64, 3-71, 3-82, 4-28, 5-10, 5-68, 6-14, 7-33, 7-62, 7-73, 8-13, 9-58, 9-153, 9-157, 10-231); ʔay-ūc-timut-Ø 'to tell about things' (1-2, 2-2, 3-1, 5-2, 6-1, 8-2, 9-1, 9-1, 11-2, 15-2); ʔay-tus 'to do something' (1-61, 1-97, 1-98, 1-127, 2-90, 5-55, 9-249, 10-135, 10-141, 10-143, 12-36, 12-94, 13-49, 16-204, 17-94, 18-30).

-ay. Auxiliary. (1-118, 1-154, 1-160, 1-183, 2-96, 3-45, 5-38, 5-49, 5-85, 7-71, 7-75, 8-35, 8-55, 9-41, 9-49, 9-53, 9-57, 9-160, 9-190, 10-27, 10-118, 10-165, 11-23, 11-76, 12-14, 12-26, 13-7, 13-48, 13-49, 14-37, 15-27, 16-2, 16-11, 16-30, 16-69, 16-70, 16-141, 16-149, 16-192, 16-212, 16-227, 16-232, 17-5, 17-7, 17-12, 17-87).

ʔayaw-is. 'to exchange one for another' (2-97); n-ʔayaw-āX-is 'to pay someone's fine; to spell someone at a task' (17-41).

ayk̓. Cf. ʔayk̓. (1-33, 1-187, 3-42, 4-1, 5-2, 9-118, 10-234, 11-12, 12-2, 12-15, 12-18, 13-28, 13-30, 15-14, 15-26, 16-193, 16-222, 17-1, 18-4, 18-7).

ʔayk̓-Ø. 'to be long, a long time ago' (1-33, 1-41, 1-187, 2-2, 2-56, 3-42, 3-57, 4-1, 5-2, 5-4, 9-2, 9-118, 9-148, 10-199, 10-227, 10-234, 11-12, 11-60, 11-95, 12-2, 12-15, 12-18, 12-88, 13-28, 13-30, 13-35, 14-35, 15-2, 15-14, 15-26, 16-193, 16-222, 17-1, 18-4, 18-7); ʔayk̓-m-Ø 'to be old' (1-163); nu-s-ʔayk̓-sta 'graveyard' (12-96).

aylikt. Cf. ʔaylikt. (10-106).

ʔaylikt-Ø. 'to be an amount(e.g. to take that long, be a bunch)' (1-53, 1-60, 1-67, 1-101, 3-70, 10-106, 16-117).

-ayu. Honorific. (9-145).

-ayx. Limited Control Resultative. 'get X-ed' (1-13, 1-18, 1-48, 1-83, 1-138, 1-139, 1-188, 2-6, 2-20, 2-22, 2-31, 2-32, 2-33, 2-54, 2-82, 5-21, 5-41, 5-66, 5-79, 5-80, 5-104, 7-22, 7-38, 7-39, 7-60, 8-37, 8-39, 8-40, 8-51, 8-53, 9-63, 9-64, 9-65, 9-73, 9-78, 9-96, 9-98, 9-126, 9-133, 9-134, 9-135, 9-199, 9-228, 9-244, 10-42, 10-45, 10-46, 10-50, 10-116, 10-164, 10-175, 10-176, 10-205, 10-240, 10-251, 12-23, 12-57, 12-59, 12-63, 12-79, 12-83, 13-36, 13-52, 14-49, 15-15, 16-4, 16-21, 16-23, 16-24, 16-27, 16-44, 16-46, 16-79, 16-91, 16-113, 16-119, 16-123, 16-130, 16-166, 16-168, 17-9, 17-43, 17-45, 17-47, 17-51, 17-52, 17-61, 17-62, 17-64, 17-69, 17-74, 17-75, 17-76, 17-88, 17-104, 17-111, 17-115, 17-116, 18-9).

- ā -

-āk. Cf. -ak. (2-52, 3-88, 5-44, 6-20, 9-39, 10-133, 10-136, 10-144, 10-145, 16-76, 16-199).

-ālXi. 'back of head' (9-106, 9-107).

-āł. Cf. -ał. 'foot'. (7-75, 8-36, 9-129, 9-133, 9-137, 12-49, 12-51, 17-92).

-āq. Cf. -āX. (1-116, 1-130).

āxʷa. Cf. ʔawxʷa. (7-37, 7-76, 9-22, 12-86).

ʔāxʷa. Cf. ʔawxʷa. (5-75, 5-77, 5-80, 5-86, 5-88, 5-90, 5-92, 7-34, 7-64).

-āX. 'bottom' (1-55, 1-59, 1-64, 1-74, 1-109, 1-110, 2-70, 5-44, 5-52, 5-97, 5-98, 10-22, 10-209, 10-212, 10-220, 10-222, 11-33, 11-71, 12-41, 12-42, 12-58, 12-73); 'behind' (1-45, 1-116, 1-121, 1-130, 3-8 , 4-19, 5-44, 9-6, 9-49, 9-57, 9-67, 9-74, 10-79, 10-164, 10-172, 10-175, 10-176, 10-182, 10-187, 11-9 11-16, 11-28, 16-154, 17-2); 'rear' (9-25, 9-140, 9-141, 9-143, 10-82); 'column' (9-211, 9-214, 9-215, 9-216, 9-217, 9-219, 9-221, 9-222, 9-223); 'distributed' (4-14, 4-22, 5-21, 9-60, 9-62, 10-87, 10-88, 11-92, 14-15, 14-16, 15-3, 15-41, 16-171, 16-178, 17-41, 18-21); 'day' (7-55, 16-4, 16-18, 16-26, 16-29, 16-32, 16-45, 17-122).

-āXapsm. 'neck' (3-75). Cf. -apsm.

āXɬ. Cf. ʔāXɬ. (8-50, 9-8, 15-17, 16-5, 16-14, 16-15).

ʔāXɬ. 'upriver' (1-6, 1-45, 1-46, 1-137, 1-140, 2-64, 2-110, 3-91, 5-29, 5-46, 5-75, 5-77, 5-88, 5-90, 6-21, 7-53, 8-50, 9-8, 11-4, 12-21, 12-22, 12-25, 12-49, 15-17, 16-5, 16-12, 16-14, 16-15, 16-39, 18-7).

āXɬɬ. Cf. ʔāXɬ. (6-21).

- c -

c. 'it, they; then, now; there, here'. Cf. APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.

-c. Cf. -uc. (7-16).

ca. Cf. cay. 'stop, finish'. (7-14, 7-15, 8-14, 13-38).

cack̓ʷ-0. 'to be straight' (11-103).

cacl. cacl-uks-ī 'young males ca. 15-19 years' (2-62). Cf. cucl.

calācti. Cf. cācti. (12-67).

can. 'spear' (1-91, 1-111, 1-148, 1-149, 2-120, 2-121).

cap. 'bone' (9-251, 10-136); s-cap-uc-ɬɬ 'bones left over from a meal' (10-132).

caXʷ. caXʷ-m-0 'to walk into the water'; cacXʷ-m-0 'to walk into the water repeatedly' (14-47); ʔaɬ-caXʷ-m-0 'to stand, walk in the water' (2-109, 2-111). *caXʷ-0.

cay-0. 'to stop, finish; to be all, everything, anything' (2-48, 2-93, 2-125, 3-95, 5-17, 5-34, 5-38, 5-55, 5-62, 5-63, 5-69, 8-25, 8-26, 8-32, 8-45, 8-53, 9-236); ca-lx-ak-m-is 'to leave something, someone alone, as it is' (7-14, 7-15, 8-14); ca-lx-liwa-m-is 'to give up doing something' (13-38); cacī-0 'to be finished' (4-30, 11-38, 17-55, 17-119);

cay-ak-Ø 'to finish working with one's hands' (13-19); cay-ak-m-is 'to finish something done by hand' (9-44, 11-10, 16-199, 17-94); cay-ak-timut-m-is 'to finish what one is doing' (9-35); nu-cay-āX-Ø 'to finish shitting' (11-71); cay-liwa-m-is 'to finish with something, someone' (10-28, 10-29); cay-uc-Ø 'to stop, finish talking, drinking, eating, etc.' (1-142, 1-144, 2-126, 3-31, 9-18, 9-102, 10-63).

cay. ʔanu-s-cay-am-us-m-is 'to go and listen to someone' (14-19); ʔanu-s-cay-nm-ik-ūc-is 'to eavesdrop on someone' (15-8); kas-cay-uł-is 'to ask someone something' (10-15, 10-31, 10-114, 10-181, 10-191, 10-248, 10-251, 11-12, 15-43); kas-cay-ūł-is 'to ask someone something' (3-19, 10-118, 11-14); kuł-cay-uł-Ø 'to have news, e.g. a newspaper'; s-cay-uł-Ø 'to tell about what happened or what one heard; news' (14-1); s-cay-uł-ī 'story' (18-3).

cāctī. 'youth, young person, child'. (1-10, 9-3, 9-12, 9-22, 9-34, 9-41, 9-42, 9-56, 9-59, 9-62, 9-63, 9-65, 9-72, 9-79, 9-113, 9-130, 9-144, 9-158, 9-170, 9-176, 9-201, 9-207, 9-218, 10-73, 10-80, 10-86, 10-89, 1o-98, 10-109, 10-110, 10-112, 10-113, 10-115, 10-119, 10-121, 10-137, 10-145, 10-154, 10-163, 10-205, 10-206, 10-240, 10-249, 10-250, 10-254, 15-31, 15-32, 15-41, 15-42, 15-45, 15-46, 15-53, 16-146, 16-152, 16-205, 16-212); cāct-anm-ī-Ø 'to behave like a young person' (5-3); calāctī 'youths, young persons' (12-67). *cāct-anm-Ø.

cāqʷ-Ø 'to be long' (1-135, 9-185).

ciccipī. 'bird' (2-125, 3-70, 3-76, 3-85, 5-11, 10-128).

cikʷ. cikʷ-ał-m-Ø 'to set out on foot' (1-166, 1-168, 1-174, 2-64, 3-9, 10-156, 10-157); ckʷ-āł-ta 'where one starts from, beginning' (7-75); si-ckʷ-ał-m-ta 'starting line'; ckʷ-liwa-cut-Ø 'to start' (16-2); ckʷ-uc-m-Ø 'to begin to talk' (12-2). *cikʷ-Ø, *cikʷ-ic.

cik̓-is. 'to spear, stab something' (2-70, 2-113); cick̓-is 'to spear repeatedly' (2-122).

ciłik. A location. (17-66, 17-67, 17-102).

cim. ʔał-cim-Ø 'to talk' (2-101, 2-117, 4-15); ʔałał-cim-Ø 'to tell repeatedly, to talk to someone' (5-69, 15-41, 16-42, 16-63, 17-35, 17-37, 18-15); ʔałał-cim-tmaxʷ-aw 'to talk to each other repeatedly' (7-57, 15-49, 16-19). *cim-Ø.

cix-Ø. 'to be she' (5-13, 6-22, 7-21, 8-9, 9-145, 9-154, 9-155, 10-72, 10-211, 12-66, 15-65, 16-21).

cixʷ. 'What is it? [in answer to having one's name called or of events]'; ˀal-a-cixʷ-Ø 'to happen to someone' (1-180,5-62); ˀal-a-cixʷ-nu-ks 'What's wrong with you?' (15-44); ˀal-a-cixʷ-tus 'to do like that to someone' (10-105); ˀał-al-a-cixʷ-Ø 'to be like' (10-15, 10-129); ˀał-ˀal-a-cixʷ-ˀul-ks 'What is it like?' (10-14).

ci̓X-is. 'to dig something up' (13-36); cicq-is 'to dig around for something' (13-38); ci̓X-ank-us-is 'to dig along side something' (17-93); ci̓X-m-layx-Ø 'to get something dug up' (14-2); ci̓X-m-nix-is 'to think someone is digging for something' (14-3); ˀanu-ci̓X-Ø 'to be buried' (13-23, 13-30, 13-37); nu-ci̓X-is 'to dig a hole for something' (13-15, 13-17, 13-19).

-ck. Inferential Dubitative.

-cki. Cf. -ck. (8-52, 10-26, 11-36, 15-53, 16-210, 16-234, 17-78, 17-95).

ckʷ-Ø. 'to be heavy' (2-87); nu-ckʷ-lx-Ø 'to sink'; nu-ckʷ-lx-tus 'to sink something' (17-18).

ckʷ. Cf. cikʷ. (7-75, 12-2, 16-2).

cł-is. 'to pluck something'; cł-ic̓-is 'to pluck a bird' (3-80).

cnkʷ. 'them' (12-46, 13-22).

cnł. 'him, her' (2-117, 2-124, 6-7, 12-14, 14-20, 15-24, 16-76, 18-15); 'to be oneself' (6-14, 9-254, 10-84).

cp-is. 'to wipe something'; cp-ał-m-Ø 'to wipe one's foot'; cp-ał-p-ał-m-Ø 'to wipe one's foot repeatedly' (10-10).

cq̓-is to gather something; to pick up a handful' (9-251).

cucl. cucl-uks-i̓ 'young people' (10-4). Cf. cacl.

cupc-is. 'to caulk something' (3-60).

cut-Ø 'to say' (1-12, 1-13, 1-25, 1-27, 1-38, 1-57, 1-59, 1-81, 1-143, 2-18, 2-33, 2-34, 2-66, 2-72, 3-24, 3-26, 3-29, 3-34, 3-36, 3-58, 3-64, 3-66, 3-78, 4-27, 5-8, 5-9, 5-43, 5-70, 5-103, 7-3, 7-16, 7-27, 7-47, 7-50, 7-51, 7-67, 8-15, 9-22, 9-31, 9-32, 9-41, 9-49, 9-55, 9-88, 9-93, 9-128, 9-133, 9-143, 9-145, 9-146, 9-149, 9-154, 9-158, 9-168, 9-179, 9-188, 9-189, 9-191, 9-202, 9-204, 9-207, 9-246, 9-254, 10-14, 10-16, 10-17, 10-19, 10-23, 10-32, 10-34, 10-46, 10-113, 10-114, 10-123, 10-130, 10-136, 10-140, 10-153, 10-202, 10-205, 10-206, 10-208, 10-217, 10-221, 10-222, 10-223, 10-228, 10-240, 10-251, 10-254, 11-8, 11-13, 11-14, 11-25, 11-48, 11-56, 11-57, 11-63, 11-73, 11-74, 11-82, 11-86, 11-95, 11-112, 11-113, 12-18, 14-25, 14-32, 14-40, 15-44, 15-46, 15-62, 16-138, 16-139, 16-178, 16-204, 16-233, 17-38, 17-39, 17-40, 17-41, 17-67, 17-94, 17-103, 18-23); cucut-Ø 'to be saying' (1-78, 1-83, 3-68, 3-83, 4-16, 5-104, 9-52, 9-164, 9-181, 9-214, 9-243, 10-137, 10-232, 10-238, 11-84, 11-86, 11-88, 11-106, 11-110); cucut-m-is 'to be saying something to someone' (1-14, 9-206, 9-213); ʔix-cuct-Ø 'to keep repeating' (6-28); nu-cut-ik-Ø 'to think' (10-42); nunu-cut-ik-Ø 'to be thinking' (1-99).

-cut. Reflexive. (1-2, 1-11, 1-51, 1-151, 2-6, 2-10, 2-13, 2-30, 2-31, 2-63, 2-83, 2-91, 2-118, 3-16, 3-27, 3-39, 3-59, 3-90, 5-29, 5-30, 6-11, 6-24, 7-25, 7-52, 9-5, 9-51, 9-113, 9-145, 9-160, 9-173, 9-174, 9-177, 9-201, 9-229, 9-241, 10-39, 10-40, 10-68, 10-69, 10-92, 10-94, 10-154, 10-213, 10-232, 10-252, 11-19, 11-46, 11-50, 11-61, 11-87, 12-18, 12-40, 12-45, 12-47, 12-71, 13-45, 14-15, 14-20, 14-28, 14-34, 15-11, 15-18, 15-27, 16-2, 16-20, 16-35, 16-100, 16-129, 16-179, 16-184, 16-214, 16-221, 17-12, 17-13, 17-29, 17-37, 17-86, 18-26).

cuwāstlqs. A person's name. (11-67, 11-93).

-cūc. Cf. -uc. (15-35).

cxm-Ø. 'to be invisible after having disappeared; nu-cxm-āX-Ø 'to disappear' (4-22, 11-92, 14-16); nu-cxm-uc-Ø 'to fall silent' (12-46).

cxʷ-Ø. 'to be dark(of light or color)' (1-33). *cx-Ø.

cxʷi-Ø. 'to be enough' (3-49, 9-184, 16-220).

cxʷy. Cf. cxʷi. (9-184).

cy. cy-ał-m-is 'to stick out one's foot to move something'; cy-us-is 'to hand someone something' (9-45, 18-16, 18-19, 18-29); cicy-us-is 'to hand something to someone repeatedly'; nu-cy-āk-is 'to put something into someone's hand'; nu-cy-uc-is 'to put something into someone's mouth'. *ʔał-ci-Ø.

- č -

-č. Perfective.

č···a. A person's name. (17-71, 17-104, 17-117).

-čakʷ. Optative.

čatix-is. 'to boil something' (3-88).

čaw. čaw-cx 'this one' (10-129, 10-205, 10-206). Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976.

čayx. 'this one(female)'. Cf. APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.

-či. Cf. -č.

čikʷa. 'clam' (9-238).

č̓im. čim-uɬ-aq̓ʷs-Ø 'to blink(with one eye) when thrown at'; čim-ūs-Ø 'to blink(with both eyes)' (16-128). *č̓im-Ø.

čiqʷi. A location---beach at Restoration Bay on the Burke Channel. (14-2).

čix. 'sand' (1-133); č̓ix-ik-aɬ 'sandbar' (1-133, 1-135).

č̓k. č̓k-īXʷ-is 'to pull off its head' (3-74); nu-čk-ik-is 'break in half' č̓k-is has only the gloss of the following.

č̓k-is. 'to shape something(in carving); to make something look better than it did(e.g. to remodel a house)'; nu-s-čk-āk-sta 'tool box' (9-39); nu-s-č̓k-mx 'one good at working on something'; nunu-s-č̓k-mx 'one good at working on more than one thing' (10-113); s-č̓k 'thing worked on'.

č̓kaɬkʷ. 'devil's club' (10-51).

čkt-Ø. 'to reach, arrive' (1-27, 1-70, 1-73, 1-115, 1-169, 1-175, 2-38, 2-99, 9-84, 9-103, 9-140, 9-197, 10-219, 10-236, 11-58, 13-53, 15-15, 16-61, 16-88, 16-195, 16-207, 16-224, 17-17, 17-28, 17-69); č̓kt-ak-m-is 'to do something to someone; to attack someone' (2-95, 15-24, 17-36).

čkta-Ø. 'to do, happen' (1-117, 1-153, 1-193, 2-101, 5-7, 5-15, 7-63, 7-72, 8-53, 10-130, 10-164, 10-170, 10-191, 15-59, 16-10, 16-48, 16-60, 16-157, 16-210, 17-1, 17-11, 17-42, 17-43, 17-47, 17-51, 17-54, 17-97, 17-119); č̓kta-tus 'to do something with something' (9-179, 17-35).

č̓la. 'basket' (2-22, 2-23).

č̓lkt. 'bald eagle' (15-38, 15-39, 15-42, 15-56).

-č̓n. Imperfective.

č̓s-Ø. 'to make too much noise; to talk too loud'; č̓s-m-Ø 'to make a noise; to click' (3-62, 14-13); č̓s-m-s-m-Ø 'to make an intermittent loud banging noise; to thunder' (14-17).

čulapla. 'quiver' (9-175). Cf. č̓la.

č̓us. č̓us-m-Ø 'to become dark' (1-25, 10-116, 10-129, 10-140, 12-40, 16-101, 16-102). *cus-Ø. Cp. ʔaɬč̓us-Ø 'to be face down'.

č̓x. č̓x-m-Ø. 'to be dripping(as when a bucket runs over)'; č̓x-m-ak-Ø 'to drip something' (6-26); ʔaɬ-č̓x-m-āk-timut-Ø 'to drop along the way' (6-20); nu-č̓x-m-x-m-lqs-ī-tus 'to drip something into one's nose' (11-29). Cp. sč̓X 'drop(of water)'.

č̓xmakɬɬ. A person's name. (6-28).

č̓Xɬ-Ø. 'to be true' (1-39).

č̓Xɬmayx-Ø. 'to be true' (1-124, 1-145, 1-146, 1-152, 2-6, 2-33, 2-74, 2-91, 5-21, 5-46, 9-15, 9-160, 9-248, 9-250, 10-206, 10-254, 12-20, 12-56, 12-62, 12-80, 12-84, 15-11, 16-42, 17-41, 17-49). Cf. č̓Xɬ-Ø.

c̓Xmayx. Cf. c̓Xɬmayx. (1-124, 1-145, 1-146, 1-152, 2-6, 2-74, 2-91, 5-21, 5-46, 9-15, 9-160, 9-248, 9-250, 12-20, 12-62, 12-80, 12-84, 15-11, 16-42, 17-41, 17-49).

c̓Xʷ-Ø. 'to be white' (13-35, 13-40).

- h -

hamcit. A person's name. (15-30).

hawhaw. 'a winged creature' (4-13, 4-15, 4-6, 4-29).

- i -

-i. Cf. -ī. (5-73, 12-53, 13-22).

ic. Cf. ʔic. (11-98).

ʔic-is. 'to rub vigorously'; ʔic-uɬank-m-Ø 'to rub one's abdomen' (11-98, 11-99).

-ic̓. 'feather' (3-80).

ic̓amn. Cf. ʔic̓ama. (12-84).

ʔic̓ama. 'blanket(from animal hide)'; ʔic̓amn-ī 'little blanket' (12-84); ʔic̓ama-m-is 'to put on a blanket' (10-90, 11-18).

-ik. 'long horizontal axis' (1-48, 1-50, 1-64, 1-65, 1-67, 1-74, 1-100, 1-133, 1-135, 1-191 3-8, 3-41, 7-24, 7-32, 7-34, 7-38, 7-39, 7-61, 10-174, 10-214, 10-215, 10-217, 10-225, 10-230, 11-103, 17-33, 18-21); 'median line' (9-130, 9-137); 'middle' (1-78, 2-88, 9-85, 12-78, 15-8); 'top surface' (8-30, 8-34, 8-37, 8-39, 8-40, 8-50, 10-102, 10-103); 'inside a container' (5-41, 11-92).

-i···k. Cf. ʔi···k.

-ʔi···k. Contrastive Conjunctive Particle.

-i···ka. Cf. ʔi···k. (2-30, 2-33, 3-82, 3-91, 3-97, 5-99, 8-19, 8-25, 8-35, 8-43, 9-20, 9-33, 9-94, 9-104, 9-109, 9-197, 9-225, 9-238, 9-239, 9-242, 13-36, 13-43).

ʔiks-is. 'to drag something off, away' (13-14). Cf. ks-is.

ik̓. Cf. lik̓. (17-41).

ʔik̓-. Cf. -ʔi···k. (5-66, 6-16, 8-51).

-i···k̓. Cf. -ʔi···k. (13-28).

ik̓ɬ. Cf. ʔik̓ɬ. (6-16, 6-25, 16-190).

ʔik̓ɬ-Ø. 'to be near' (6-16, 6-25, 11-88, 15-24, 16-190).

ikʷ. Cf. ʔikʷ. (3-81, 3-85, 3-89, 5-39).

ʔikʷ-is. 'to barbecue something'; ʔaɬ-ikʷ-is 'to barbecue something, roast on an open fire' (3-81, 3-85, 3-89, 5-39).

ikʷɬ. Cf. ʔikʷɬ. (5-99).

ʔikʷɬis. 'to toss underhanded; to spear something' (10-114, 10-120, 14-35; ʔikʷɬ-amk-is 'to cast something away' (9-109); ʔikʷɬ-ank-is 'to throw something onto the side of something' (5-99).

il. Cf. ʔil. (16-16).

ʔil-is. 'to go by; to pass a place'; ʔil-us-is 'to pass in front of something, someone' (2-65, 16-16, 16-174); ʔil-us-ay-nix-is 'to get past something, someone' (16-11, 16-30); ʔil-ūɬ-a-t-is 'to get around something' (10-256); ʔilʔil-ūs-ayx-Ø 'to get past repeatedly' (5-80); s-ʔil-us-ayx-sta 'a passage' (5-79).

ʔilitmay. A person's name. (16-22, 16-23, 16-231).

-ilū. Cf. -lū. (10-130).

-iɬ. 'genitals' (2-85, 15-2).

iɬcay. Cf. ʔiɬcay. (11-58, 11-90).

ʔiɬcay-Ø. 'to pick berries' (10-3, 11-54, 11-58, 11-59, 11-90, 11-93).

ʔiɬixʷani. A location (11-3, 11-7, 11-8); a person's name (11-8). Cp. ʔiɬixʷ 'stream on flat ground'.

ʔiɬk̓-is. 'to pick someone's head(for lice)' (15-35).

-iɬɬ. Cf. -ɬɬ. (17-110, 17-120).

iɬm. Cf. ɬm. (1-122, 1-181, 10-20).

ʔiɬq̓nɬa-Ø. 'to be angry, displeased'; ʔiɬʔiɬq̓nɬa-m-aɬɬ-Ø 'to swear angrily' (10-8). *ʔiɬq̓nɬa-m-aɬɬ-Ø.

iɬq̓ʷnɬ. Cf. ʔiɬq̓ʷnɬ. (1-79).

ʔiɬq̓ʷnɬ-Ø. 'to laugh'; ʔaɬ-iɬq̓ʷnɬ-alus-Ø 'to laugh in spite of oneself(as when tickled)' (1-79).

-iɬū. Cf. -ɬū. (11-62).

ʔiƛ̓-is. 'to move something'; ʔiƛ̓-cut-Ø 'to move' (16-129); ʔiƛ̓-uc-m-Ø 'to go on to another subject' (5-74, 14-23).

ʔimaɬt-is. 'to tie up something'; ʔimaɬt-ta 'rope for tying up'; ʔimaɬt-a-Ø 'to tie up'; ʔimaɬt-n-is 'to tie up for oneself' (12-72). *ʔimaɬ-is.

ʔimmɬkī. 'boy' (16-201). Cp. ʔimlk 'man'.

-imut. Reflexive. (2-16, 10-220, 11-61, 14-41, 16-59). Cf. -mut.

ʔina. ʔina-t-is. 'to give someone food' (3-21, 3-52); ʔina-cinu 'I'll give you food'; ʔaɬ-ʔīna-Ø 'He's been given it'. *ʔina-Ø.

inix-. Cf. ʔinix-. (9-49, 11-74).

ʔinix-. 'more, close' (1-116, 1-130, 4-4, 9-49, 9-57, 9-67, 9-74, 9-82, 11-74, 11-80, 17-18, 17-36, 17-82).

inu. Cf. ʔinu. (9-88).

ʔinu. 'you(singular); to be you' (9-88, 16-139).

ipu. Cf. ʔipw. (3-59, 9-228, 15-18, 17-86).

ʔipu. Cf. ʔipw. (10-92).

ʔipw-is. 'to hide something, someone'; ʔipu-cut-Ø 'to hide' (3-59, 15-18, 17-86); ʔipu-cut-liwa-Ø 'to hide away' (10-92); si-ipu-wayx-nimut-Ø 'place sought to hide in' (9-228).

ip̓. Cf. ʔip̓. (9-184, 10-173, 17-5, 17-7, 17-44, 17-80, 17-81).

ʔip-is. 'to take, grab, grasp something, someone' (1-112, 1-148, 2-35, 3-17, 7-75, 10-258, 14-38, 15-51, 16-64, 16-147, 17-11, 17-44); ʔip̓-ay-layx-Ø 'to be able to grab' (16-69, 16-70); ʔip̓-ay-nix-is 'to manage to grab, take something, someone' (17-5, 17-7); ʔip̓-uł-ūs-is 'to grab the end of something' (10-173); ʔip̓-us-m-Ø 'to support oneself by holding on' (1-52, 1-53, 9-184, 16-189); ʔał-ʔip̓-is 'to be holding something' (18-29); ʔał-ʔip̓-a-Ø 'to be holding something' (16-66); ʔał-ʔip̓-uł-nm-Ø 'to play lahal' (17-81); ʔał-ip̓-uł-nm-tus 'to make someone play lahal' (17-80).

ʔiq̓-is. 'to rub hard(back and forth); to scratch or scrape off(e.g. barnacles off the hull of a boat)'; ʔiq̓-cut-Ø 'to move back and forth' (10-232). Cf. ʔisq̓is.

is-. Cf. ʔis-. (12-86, 15-6).

ʔis-. 'go for, gather; eat'; ʔis-ʔał̓-Ø 'to eat herring roe' (15-6); ʔis-qāX-Ø 'to go for salmonberries'; ʔis-q̓aw-ł-ta-łp-Ø 'to go for funeral clothing, shroud' (12-86).

isisut. Cf. ʔissut. (15-5).

ʔisiyuyut. A person's name. (8-6).

ʔisq̓is. ʔisq̓is-liwa-Ø 'to move roughly' (10-221); *q̓is-liwa-Ø. Cf. ʔiq̓-is.

issut. Cf. ʔissut. (14-42, 15-10).

ʔissut-Ø. 'to row' (11-77, 11-79, 12-5, 12-6, 12-21, 12-22, 12-25, 12-49, 14-42, 15-10, 16-185); ʔisʔissut-Ø 'to row(of more than one)' (16-194); ʔisisut-ī-Ø 'to go rowing' (15-5).

ʔistux-is. 'to skin something' (1-93, 1-97, 1-105, 1-195, 10-77, 10-78).

-it. Exhortative. (1-142, 10-23, 14-39).

-it···k. Cf. ʔi···k. (1-59, 1-64, 1-78, 1-81, 1-83, 1-181, 2-19, 3-24, 14-53, 16-139, 17-110).

-it···ka. Cf. ʔi···k. (1-47, 1-66, 1-79, 1-176).

ix. Cf. lix. (5-96).

ix-. Cf. ʔix-. (2-20, 10-7, 10-11, 10-37, 10-91, 10-183, 10-184, 10-186, 10-188, 10-244, 11-10, 11-55, 12-75, 13-25, 16-151, 18-5).

ʔix-. Distributive. (1-153, 1-158, 1-159, 1-160, 1-193, 2-7, 2-20, 2-45, 2-119, 3-3, 5-20, 5-29, 6-28, 8-52, 9-13, 9-52, 9-63, 10-7, 10-11, 10-37, 10-91, 10-153, 10-179, 10-181, 10-183, 10-184, 10-186, 10-188, 10-189, 10-193, 10-200, 10-244, 10-245, 11-10, 11-55, 11-84, 12-53, 12-75, 13-11, 13-25, 16-146, 16-151, 18-5).

ixa. Cf. ˀixa. (2-87, 10-79).

ˀixa. 'foot, leg' (2-87, 10-79).

ˀixanap-is. 'to find the right place(e.g. to hang a picture)'; ˀixaˀnap-cut-Ø 'to find one's way' (9-228); ˀixanap-liwa-Ø 'to be fixed up; to be always trying to do something, up to something'; ˀixanap-liwa-cut-Ø 'to prepare oneself for something' (17-25, 14-53). Cp. nap-liwa-Ø 'to look restless; to do this and that, but not what one is supposed to'.

ˀixaˀnap. Cf. ˀixanap. (9-228).

ixās. Cf. ˀixās. (12-71, 12-75, 17-98).

ˀixās. ˀixās-nix-is. 'to go in search of something, someone' (12-71, 12-75, 16-213, 17-99); ˀixixās-nix-is 'to go about in search of something, someone' (10-66, 12-78); ˀixās-nm-Ø 'to look for something, someone' (9-39, 9-42, 17-98); ˀixixās-nm-Ø 'to walk about looking for something, someone' (7-23, 17-92). *ˀixās-is.

iX̌-. Cf. ˀix-. (10-37).

iX̌ʷ. Cf. ˀīX̌ʷ. (10-20, 10-244, 12-76, 13-22).

ˀiX̌ʷ. Cf. ˀīX̌ʷ. (10-12, 10-184, 11-35).

ˀiˀyum-Ø. 'to howl(of animals)' (13-22, 13-28, 13-29); ˀiˀyum-ūc-timut-Ø 'to howl(of humans)'. *ˀyum-Ø.

- ī -

-ī. Diminutive. (1-22, 1-30, 1-33, 1-68, 1-72, 1-77, 1-80, 1-104, 1-109, 1-116, 1-130, 1-133, 1-194, 1-195, 2-20, 2-61, 2-62, 2-84, 2-89, 2-92, 2-93, 2-96, 3-27, 3-36, 3-57, 3-60, 3-72, 3-88, 4-4, 4-23, 5-3, 5-57, 5-59, 5-60, 5-61, 5-73, 5-104, 6-11, 7-37, 7-47, 7-62, 7-65, 7-69, 8-3, 8-25, 9-49, 9-53, 9-57, 9-67, 9-82, 9-99, 9-100, 9-156, 9-167, 9-170, 9-214, 9-215, 9-221, 9-223, 9-239, 9-246, 10-2, 10-6, 10-7, 10-20, 10-63, 10-64, 10-96, 10-117, 10-119, 10-121, 10-128, 10-137, 10-199, 10-261, 11-4, 11-12, 11-29, 11-30,11-57, 11-74, 11-80, 11-87, 11-106, 11-108, 11-110, 11-111, 12-5, 12-6, 12-22, 12-65, 13-10, 13-15, 13-22, 13-28, 13-30, 14-27, 15-5, 15-14, 15-65, 16-190, 16-201, 17-18, 17-37, 17-76, 17-82, 18-3, 18-6, 18-18).

-ˀī. Cf. -ī. (9-82, 10-261, 17-82).

-īk. Cf. -ik. (1-65, 1-67, 1-78, 11-92).

-īqʷ. Cf. -īXʷ. (10-102, 10-103, 10-142, 16-154).

ʔīXsa. 'medicine' (11-29).

ʔīXʷ-Ø. 'to be far off' (3-36, 10-20, 13-22); ʔīXʷ-am-Ø 'to get far' (9-51, 10-12, 11-35); ʔīXʷ-anm-Ø 'to get far' (3-11, 10-184, 10-244, 12-76); ʔīXʷ-lx-Ø 'to get far away' (9-28, 9-65).

ʔīXʷ-Ø. 'to get burned, scalded'; ʔīXʷ-tus 'to burn something' (10-131, 10-132); ʔīXʷ-suł-Ø 'to build (up) a fire'; ʔīXʷ-suł-tus 'to start a fire in something' (10-166); ʔīXʷ-sułič̓-ī-t-im 'to have fires built around them' (5-57). Cf. nīXʷ.

-īXʷ. 'head' (3-74, 5-78, 5-85, 6-1, 6-3, 6-24, 7-1, 7-11, 7-32, 7-34, 7-37, 7-64, 10-102, 10-103, 10-142, 14-34, 14-37, 16-7, 16-78, 16-79, 16-99, 16-154, 16-179, 16-197, 16-198, 17-33, 17-88, 17-109); 'top' (1-90, 1-92, 1-94, 1-96, 1-111, 1-183, 1-185, 2-22, 5-100, 7-33, 7-61, 7-69, 13-43, 13-44).

-īXʷlayx. 'knee' (3-23, 3-29).

- k -

k-. Cf. ka-. Unrealized. (4-1, 12-45).

ka-Ø. 'to be which' (1-6, 3-28, 10-208, 15-29, 16-137).

ka-. Unrealized.

ka-. Cf. kał-. (2-111, 2-112, 3-19, 9-159, 10-15, 10-31, 10-114, 10-118, 10-181, 10-191, 10-248, 10-251).

kal-is. 'to (go) meet'; kal-ał-m-is 'to find a way, come upon something' (10-160, 10-246); kal-āł-m-is 'to happen to reach a spot' (17-92); kal-aq̓ʷs-m-is 'to spy something' (1-91); kan-nix-is 'to cause someone to have an accident' (2-233); kal-tmaxʷ-aw 'to meet each other' (10-254, 10-257); kal-tmaxʷ-m-is 'to meet with someone' (10-12); kal-ūc-Ø 'to tell correctly' (3-1); kal-ūs-m-tmaxʷ-aw 'to meet with each other' (9-195). nu-kal-ik 'middle' (9-216, 10-54, 12-23, 16-6).

kał-. 'acquire, hunt for, seek' (2-111, 2-112, 3-19, 9-159, 10-15, 10-31, 10-39, 10-40, 10-114, 10-118, 10-181, 10-191, 10-248, 10-251, 12-93).

kamał. 'when' (5-74, 9-2, 9-49, 9-177, 10-140, 10-254, 12-15, 12-61, 15-59, 17-88); 'before' (17-77).

kan. Cf. kal. (10-233).

kaniłskapac. A person's name. (17-26).

kankłī. A person's name. (9-122, 9-123, 9-138, 9-164, 9-165).

kaw-is. 'to carry something' (5-79, 11-47, 13-24, 15-51, 15-52, 16-23, 17-41); kaka-mut-Ø 'to go back and forth carrying something'

(14-6, 14-9); nu-kaw-uc-is 'to bring someone food' (10-126, 10-128).

kawac. A location. (7-31).

kaynuxs. 'tomorrow' (9-202, 9-203, 9-207).

kayxī-Ø. 'to be many times, extreme' (9-2). *kayx-Ø.

kā. kā-ks 'where?' (3-35). Cf. ka-Ø.

ki. ki-X 'Come on!'; ƛ̓a-ki-X 'Come on!' (1-142, 3-37, 7-50, 10-18, 10-35, 11-83, 14-39). ki occurs only with Imperative or Exhortative inflection.

kič̓-Ø. 'to be crooked'; kič̓-liktn-is 'to twist something'; kič̓-liktn-īXʷ--is 'to twist something's neck' (3-74); kič̓-liktn-āXapsm-is 'to twist something's neck' (3-75).

kikya. 'grandmother' (9-174).

kī. Cf. ki. (3-37).

kɬ-is. 'to drop something' (1-184, 1-185, 3-92, 3-97, 6-1, 6-3, 6-5, 7-1, 7-4, 7-5, 7-11, 7-19, 7-22, 7-46, 7-47, 7-49, 8-4, 8-5, 10-21); kɬ-Ø ' to fall' (9-200); kɬ-an-mi-cut-Ø 'to pay attention' (3-27); kɬ-īXʷ-Ø 'to come down, climb down' (13-43, 13-44); ˀus-kɬ-is 'to drop something' (15-55).

kma-Ø. 'to ache, hurt'; kma-layx-am-Ø 'to become ill' (18-24); kma-m-is 'to worry, moan, get sick over something'; kma-m-im 'slugabed' (11-49).

knix-is. 'to eat something' (3-19, 3-20, 3-51, 3-53, 3-84, 3-89, 5-30, 5-39, 5-41, 5-43, 5-55, 5-63, 5-66, 5-69, 7-16, 7-21, 8-16, 8-17, 8-55, 10-230, 10-235, 10-243); knknix-ī-t-is 'to eat something repeatedly' (5-61); nu-knix-īk-layx-is 'to eat from a pot, container' (11-92); snknix 'food' (17-41).

knum. 'dried fish' (5-42, 5-48).

kp. kp-lx-Ø 'to be scattered all over'; ˀanu-kp-m-Ø 'to have things all over, to be full of something' (5-73). *kp-Ø, *kp-m-Ø.

ks-is. 'to take something from' (2-51, 2 74, 5-44, 10-79, 11-27, 12-73, 13-23, 15-33, 15-34); nu-ks-ay-nix-is 'to manage to pull something away from someone' (16-149); nu-ks-uc-is 'to take food from someone' (13-52). Cf. ˀiks-is.

ks-tus. 'to fix, prepare something' (2-124, 5-58, 5-69, 9-35, 10-85, 12-92); ks-txʷ-uc-m-Ø 'to prepare one's own food' (2-55, 8-55).

-ks. Individuative.

-ku. Surprisative.

kulamk-tis. 'to distribute something' (17-50); kulamk-Ø 'to distribute'. *kul-is, *kul-tis.

kult-Ø. 'to go borrow'; kulkult-Ø 'to go about borrowing' (10-86); kulkult-tus 'to make someone go about borrowing' (10-85). *kult-is.

kuł-. 'endowed with'; kuł-tāla-Ø 'to be rich[tāla 'money']'; ʔas-kuł-xnas-Ø 'to have a cousin' (7-17, 8-7); s-kuł-xnas 'cousin(female)' (7-12, 11-43, 11-48, 11-49, 11-67, 11-68). Cf. kał-.

kuł-. 'surface'; kuł-als 'side, wall' (2-32, 11-89, 13-4, 16-153); kuł-ank 'side' (5-44, 5-100, 5-102, 13-30, 14-30); kuł-āX 'bottom' (5-44), 'back' (9-25, 9-140, 9-141, 9-143, 10-82); kuł-āX-ak 'wrist' (10-79); kuł-āX-uc 'bank(of a stream)' (11-9, 11-16); kuł-āX-uc-am-tus 'to lay something by the edge of something' (11-28); kuł-ik 'top' (8-30); kuł-ulmx 'earth, level ground' (1-115, 2-6, 2-18, 2-33, 2-38, 2-52, 2-54, 2-101, 5-45, 8-18, 9-129, 9-227, 10-119, 12-62, 13-31, 16-94, 16-228, 17-1, 17-53); kuł-ūc 'beach' (12-7, 12-14, 12-73, 13-12, 13-14, 13-15, 16-76, 16-77, 17-81); kuł-ūc-uc 'the edge of the beach' (12-24).

kułic̓. 'side' (3-72, 12-40). Cf. kuł-. 'surface'.

kupił. A person's name. (5-3, 5-7).

kuqʷpi. 'grandfather' (9-173, 9-177).

-kū. Cf. -ku. (4-16).

kūkʷ-is. 'to cook something' (3-50, 12-38); kūkʷ-Ø 'to cook' (3-86); kūkʷ-uc-m-ī-Ø 'to cook oneself food' (10-121).

- k̓ -

k̓-. Cf. ʔi···k. (12-55, 12-83).

k̓c-is. 'to chop something'; ʔał-k̓c-alus-Ø 'to be chopped into pieces' (7-59, 7-61); s-k̓c-ak-łł 'chip' (7-42, 7-44).

k̓i. Cf. k̓im. (3-39).

k̓ił-. 'without, lacking'; k̓ił-qlamta-Ø 'to not have compassion'; k̓ił-tāla-Ø 'to lack money[tāla 'money]'; k̓ił-tX-umat-Ø 'to disappear'; k̓ił-tX-umat-tus 'to kidnap someone; take someone and hide them' (17-56); ʔał-k̓ił-tus 'to wait for someone' (3-61). *k̓ił-tus, *ʔał-k̓ił-Ø.

k̓im-is. 'to go select a suitable object, material to form into a tool'; k̓i-mi-cut-Ø 'to select suitable material for oneself' (3-39); s-k̓im 'tool, thing used for something' (7-40).

k̓ipt. 'dried elderberries' (5-62, 5-63, 5-65, 5-66).

k̓iXʷ-is. 'to gnaw a hole in something'; k̓iXʷ-m-Ø 'to gnaw' (5-42, 5-48).

k̓l. nu-k̓l-x-Ø 'to freeze' (3-44); s-k̓l-Ø 'to be cold, icy; ice', k̓m-is. 'to bite, carry something in one's mouth' (1-40, 1-167, 1-180, 16-155); k̓m-āł-ta 'trap' (12-49, 12-51); ʔał-k̓m-a-Ø 'to hold in one's mouth' (6-19).

k̓matk-Ø. 'to stay overnight' (14-24, 14-27, 16-74, 16-80).

k̓up. k̓up-lx-is 'to lie in wait for something, someone; to stalk something' (1-25, 1-26, 1-28, 2-111, 2-114, 2-116, 10-109, 10-140, 12-9, 12-52, 13-5, 14-5, 14-6, 15-21). *k̓up-is, *k̓up-Ø, *k̓up-tus.

k̓x-is. 'to see something, someone' (1-13, 1-88, 1-89, 2-8, 2-9, 2-19, 2-44, 2-110, 3-23, 3-64, 5-5, 5-32, 5-33, 5-47, 5-48, 7-44, 7-46, 7-56, 7-69, 7-72, 8-19, 8-51, 9-9, 9-152, 9-191, 10-23, 10-24, 10-67, 10-125, 11-12, 11-13, 11-15, 11-24, 11-25, 11-47, 11-54, 12-24, 12-47, 12-48, 12-51, 12-64, 12-76, 12-78, 13-3, 13-4, 15-7, 17-100, 18-6, 18-8, 18-10, 18-27); ʔał-k̓x-Ø 'to watch' (1-122, 1-132, 1-137, 1-182, 10-33); ʔał-k̓x-is 'to watch something' (4-22, 4-23, 10-34, 13-25); ʔał-k̓x-us-is 'to watch someone's face' (16-127); ʔal-a-k̓x--ta-s 'by its looks' (10-61).

k̓yuk-is. 'to determine, recognize something, someone' (9-142, 9-143, 9-144); k̓yuk-ta 'sign' (5-13); ʔał-k̓yuk-is 'to know, recognize something, someone'.

- kʷ -

-kʷ. Quotative.

kʷ···a. A person's name. (16-86).

kʷanat-Ø. 'to cry' (1-21, 1-30, 1-39, 1-136, 1-142, 9-139, 9-190, 11-104, 11-107, 11-109, 15-45); kʷnkʷanāt-tmaxʷ-aw 'to make each other cry' (1-23).

kʷit̓m-Ø. 'to be left over(most is gone)'; kʷit̓m-ak-Ø 'to not carry all of something' ; kʷit̓m-uc-Ø 'to not eat all of something'; s-kʷit̓m-uc-łł 'leftovers(of a meal)' (11-98).

kʷl-Ø. 'to be hot' (9-220); ʔał-kʷl-cut-Ø 'to warm oneself' (14-28); nu-kʷl 'hot spring' (9-231); s-kʷl 'heat' (9-90, 9-235).

kʷƛ̓-is. 'to put, place something' (10-22, 10-150, 12-85); ʔał-kʷƛ̓-Ø 'to be placed' (1-87).

kʷm-Ø. 'to be warm'; kʷm-cut-Ø 'to warm oneself up'; ʔał-kʷm-tus 'to warm something up' (5-50). *kʷm-is.

kʷn-is. 'to carry, take, bring something, someone' (3-50, 9-12, 9-14, 10-112, 10-188, 10-189, 10-190, 10-192, 10-194, 10-218, 10-219, 11-33, 11-51, 12-32, 12-37, 15-32, 15-33, 16-227, 17-12, 17-15, 17-39, 17-41, 17-50); kʷn-āk-sta 'box' (3-88); kʷn-c-m-Ø 'to go get food for oneself' (7-16); kʷn-likʷ 'the one who went to fetch' (10-238); kʷn-m-Ø 'to go and get' (16-221, 17-28).

kʷn. kʷn-als-t-is 'to go around the side' (11-65); kʷn-āX-uc-is 'to walk along the bank, edge' (1-45, 9-6); kʷn-ik-is 'to walk along something' (9-130, 9-137, 10-174); kʷn-ūc-is 'to go around the edge' (9-72); ʔał-kʷn-ak-is 'to lead someone by the hand' (9-138).

kʷst. 'the outer part of the body' (2-91, 12-81).

kʷt. kʷt-us-m-Ø 'to get on one's hands and knees to drink' (3-7, 3-30, 3-35); kʷt-ūc-m-Ø 'to let water run into one's mouth, as from a tap'. *kʷt-is, *kʷt-Ø, *kʷt-m-Ø.

kʷtmc. 'husband' (10-71, 15-48).

- k̓ʷ -

-k̓ʷ. Usitative.

-k̓ʷ. Cf. -kʷ. (1-115, 1-134, 9-208, 10-28, 10-91, 13-19, 17-36, 17-86, 18-24).

k̓ʷał-Ø. 'to be safe'; k̓ʷał-liwa-Ø 'to be safe and sound, protected' (10-169); k̓ʷał-tn-im 'to be created, formed, given shape' (5-74, 7-63, 8-35, 9-2, 10-2, 11-3); k̓ʷał-tn-ta 'sign; totem from a creation story' (15-46); k̓ʷał-tn-ūł-īXʷ-ayx-Ø 'to have one's head cast a shadow' (17-88); s-k̓ʷał-am-Ø 'to get better, improve, return to normal, get settled' (14-50, 14-51, 17-54); s-k̓ʷał-m-m-Ø 'to get better, where one can take care of oneself' (11-32); s-k̓ʷał-am-nimut-Ø 'to get things settled' (2-56, 17-19); s-k̓ʷał-am-timut-Ø 'to get control of oneself' (11-26); k̓ʷał-tus 'to take care of oneself'.

k̓ʷn. k̓ʷn-us-is 'to show someone something' (1-167, 3-38); k̓ʷn-us-nm-Ø 'to 'to show' (17-90, 17-91); ʔał-k̓ʷn-us-uł-ūs-ak-is 'to show someone where to aim' (10-72); ʔanu-k̓ʷn-is 'to point a gun at something, someone' (16-126); k̓ʷn-a-Ø 'to point'. Cf. k̓ʷnta-Ø.

k̓ʷnta-Ø. 'to be decided, planned' (5-76); k̓ʷntn-ak-is 'to show someone how to do something with his hands' (2-52); k̓ʷnta-cut-Ø 'to plan, make up one's mind' (1-11, 2-13, 2-63, 9-173, 9-174, 9-201, 10-123, 10-252, 14-34, 16-20, 17-57, 18-26); ʔał-k̓ʷnta-liwa-t-is 'to give someone instruction on what to do' (2-42, 9-58); ʔał-k̓ʷnta-m 'directions, director, foreman'

(2-41); ʔał-k̓ʷntn-ūc-is 'to tell someone what to say' (11-76). Cf. k̓ʷn.

k̓ʷp. k̓ʷp-aq̓ʷs-tus 'to make sure someone is looking at the right thing'; k̓ʷp-ūs-timut-Ø 'to face right at something' (1-137); ʔał--k̓ʷp-us-Ø ʔuł-ʔnc 'He's facing right at me.' *k̓ʷp-Ø.

k̓ʷpap. k̓ʷpap-lx-Ø 'to get clear, understandable'; k̓ʷpap-lx-timut-Ø 'to explain' (9-163). *k̓ʷpap-Ø. Cf. k̓ʷp.

k̓ʷps. Cf. k̓ʷpst. (10-39, 10-40).

k̓ʷpst-is. 'to fix, tidy up; to put into order'; k̓ʷpst-ayx-Ø 'to get tidied up, e.g. a room or bed; to get well; to calm down' (17-43, 17-47); k̓ʷpst-ayx-liwa-Ø 'to settle, calm down' (8-53); k̓ʷps-cut-Ø 'to make one's bed' (10-39, 10-40).

-k̓ʷu. Cf. -k̓ʷ. Usitative. (1-2, 1-5, 1-19, 1-47, 1-49, 1-59, 1-64, 1-65, 1-66, 1-79, 1-81, 1-83, 1-100, 1-123, 1-131, 1-176, 1-179, 1-181, 2-19, 3-24, 4-28, 7-1, 7-40, 7-62, 7-67, 7-73, 8-29, 8-35, 9-168, 9-176, 9-177, 10-10, 10-11, 10-166, 10-261, 11-57, 11-85, 11-86, 11-106, 11-110, 12-15, 13-51, 14-53, 15-33, 17-55, 17-88, 17-110, 18-8).

-l. (9-179, 10-14, 17-51).

laʔlay. A person's name. (15-63, 15-64).

-layx. Indirect Control. 'get, cause' (3-24, 3-26, 3-34, 3-92, 5-38, 5-89, 5-91. 5-95, 5-96, 9-53, 11-60, 11-92, 12-15, 12-18, 14-2, 16-6, 18-24); -ay-layx-Ø 'be able, manage, get to' (1-118, 1-154, 1-160, 1-183, 2-96, 5-49, 7-71, 8-35, 8-54, 9-41, 9-53, 11-23, 13-49, 15-27, 16-2, 16-69, 16-70, 17-12).

l···c. A person's name. (16-113).

-likt. 'completely, all over' (2-2, 2-3, 3-1, 3-2, 3-74, 3-75, 9-3, 9-5, 9-7, 9-88, 9-249, 10-36, 12-82).

-liktn. Cf. -likt. (3-74, 3-75).

lik̓-Ø. 'to be full' (1-152, 11-60, 17-41).

-likʷ. 'everything, everyone' (2-50, 6-24, 10-237, 13-20, 13-21, 17-118, 18-5).

lili. A person's name. (17-64).

lip̓-is. 'to turn, fold something'; lip̓-ayx-Ø 'to get back' (1-138, 1-139, 9-244, 16-24, 17-9, 17-104); lip̓-ał-ayx-Ø 'to get back on foot' (2-6, 2-54, 10-251); lip̓-ay-nix-is 'to manage to get something back' (16-232); lip̓-ał-ay-nix-is 'to manage to get something, someone back on foot' (17-51, 17-52); lip̓-cut-Ø 'to return' (3-90, 9-145, 9-177, 10-68, 10-69, 10-94, 13-45, 14-15, 16-100, 16-221); lip̓-cut-ał-Ø 'to return by foot' (11-61); lip̓-cut-lx-Ø 'to turn back' (16-184); lip̓-cut-tus 'to make someone return' (9-32); ˀix-lip̓-cut-Ø 'to go back and forth' (5-29).

liq̓ʷ-is. 'to roll, turn something' (9-162, 17-94); liq̓ʷ-m-Ø 'to roll' (14-36); ˀanu-liq̓ʷ-is 'to twist something' (16-148); nu-liq̓ʷ-aq̓ʷs-is 'to turn something over, to turn something inside out; to change what one is looking at' (11-18).

lis-is. 'to push something'; lis-cut-Ø 'to pay back, return a favor; to avenge oneself'; lis-cut-ay-layx-Ø 'to be able to get even for something' (15-27); lis-liwa-cut-Ø 'to relent, back off doing something' (12-18).

-lit. 'say, go'; quXquX-lit-Ø 'to go caw-caw' (6-18); way-lit-Ø 'to say OK, agree' (16-53, 16-103, 16-104, 16-114, 16-225); way-lit-m-is 'to tell someone OK' (9-210, 10-27).

-liwa. Similative. (1-14, 2-10, 2-15, 2-20, 2-42, 2-53, 2-101, 3-5, 5-81, 5-82, 5-85, 7-12, 7-19, 7-23, 7-25, 7-76, 8-3, 8-53, 9-58, 9-113, 9-128, 9-159, 9-161, 9-188, 9-206, 9-212, 9-227, 10-28, 10-29, 10-52, 10-86, 10-89, 10-92, 10-113, 10-123, 10-129, 10-139, 10-152, 10-155, 10-169, 10-202, 10-204, 10-221, 11-100, 12-18, 13-38, 14-20, 15-20, 15-59, 16-2, 16-48, 16-60, 16-104, 16-107).

lix. lix-m-Ø 'to slip'; ˀał-ix-m-nk-layx-timut-Ø 'to just let the pole slip along the side' (5-96).

-lix. Cf. -lx. (2-2, 2-3).

-lī̄c. 'skin' (12-80).

-līkʷ. Cf. -likʷ. (17-118).

-ił. Cf. -lx. (11-30).

-lnqs. 'tail' (9-240).

-lqs. Cf. -lXs. (1-194, 1-196, 9-242, 11-29, 11-30).

lq̓. Cf. ˀlq̓. (1-95, 1-117, 1-118, 1-153, 1-158, 1-160, 1-183, 1-193, 4-3, 9-125, 10-27, 10-98, 11-84, 16-2, 17-12, 18-9).

ˀlq̓-is. 'to think of something, someone; to have it come to one's mind' (1-164, 9-125); ˀlq̓-ay-layx-Ø 'to get the idea of; to figure out what to do' (1-118, 1-154, 1-183, 5-49, 16-2, 17-12); ˀix-ˀlq̓-m-Ø 'to think about something to make a decision' (1-153, 1-158, 1-159, 1-193, 11-84); ˀix-ˀlq̓-m-ay-layx-Ø 'to think about something to make a decision and manage to do it' (1-160); s-ˀlq̓ 'mind' (1-95, 1-117, 4-3, 10-27);

s-lq̓-lx-Ø 'to understand' (10-98); s-lq̓-ayx-Ø 'to remember' (18-9).

-lt. 'child'; ʔaciw-lt-Ø 'to be pregnant' (9-114, 9-115, 9-116, 9-117); s-puƛ̓-lt 'children' (6-27).

-lu. Expectative.

lul-Ø. 'to be easy to take off'; lul-x-Ø 'to get easy to take off' (5-59); lulluw-is 'to take bark off a tree' (5-59).

-lū. Persistive.

-lx. Inchoative. (1-3, 1-25, 1-26, 1-28, 1-33, 1-122, 2-2, 2-3, 2-27, 2-28, 2-29, 2-33, 2-78, 2-87, 2-89, 2-100, 2-111, 2-114, 2-116, 3-1, 3-2, 3-5, 3-44, 3-54, 4-5, 4-6, 5-9, 5-59, 6-29, 7-14, 7-15, 7-61, 8-28, 8-29, 8-31, 8-38, 8-42, 8-43, 8-44, 8-46, 9-3, 9-5, 9-7, 9-9, 9-28, 9-65, 9-88, 9-123, 9-132, 9-163, 9-180, 9-185, 9-197, 9-214, 9-215, 9-221, 9-223, 9-243, 10-98, 10-109, 10-140, 10-186, 11-30, 11-88, 12-9, 12-52, 12-63, 12-80, 13-5, 13-38, 14-5, 14-6, 14-45, 14-46, 15-21, 15-24, 16-160, 16-184, 16-190, 16-202, 17-18, 17-19, 17-106, 18-13, 18-14).

lX. Cf. ʔlX. (18-21, 18-34).

ʔlX-is. 'to let a rope down; to lay something out straight' (2-17, 2-18); ʔlX-Ø 'to be stretched out; to hang down' (2-20, 2-45); ʔus-lX-āX-ik-am-m-is 'to lay something out straight' (18-21).

-lXs. 'end' (1-194, 1-196, 1-198, 2-85, 3-39, 6-30, 9-242, 10-254, 10-257, 16-5, 18-30); 'nose' (11-29, 11-30).

lXʷ. ʔał-lXʷ-is 'to be looking at something, someone' (2-49, 2-50, 8-52, 10-25, 10-93, 13-13, 13-14, 13-18, 13-50, 14-10); ʔał-lXʷ-Ø 'to look' (4-11); ʔał-lXʷ-ay-nix-is 'to manage to watch' (13-48); ʔanu-s-lXʷ-m-is 'to go and have a look at something' (17-58). *lXʷ-is, *lXʷ-Ø.

- ł -

-ł. Possessive. (1-78, 5-62, 5-63, 11-93, 16-57).

-ł. Cf. -ał. (2-80, 2-81, 2-100, 5-28, 11-6).

-ł. Cf. -uł. 'body, building'. (2-91, 12-83, 12-84, 12-86, 17-49).

łalas. 'boat' (9-198, 10-209, 10-212, 10-217, 10-220, 10-222, 10-225, 11-51, 11-61, 11-69, 11-90, 11-103, 12-13, 12-20, 12-72, 12-74, 13-24, 14-41, 16-54, 16-59, 16-158, 17-14, 17-33, 17-41).

ławps-Ø. 'to be not satisfied with what one is supposed to receive'; ławps-ak-m-tmaxʷ-aw 'each to not be satisfied with the other's offer'; ʔa-ławps-ak-is 'to want, ask, and receive more' (16-219). *ławps-is.

-łay. 'over there' (11-74, 16-140).

-łayx. Cf. -layx. (16-6).

łc̓anxʷ-is. 'to catch someone doing something'; łc̓anxʷ-liwa-t-is 'to catch someone doing something' (10-89); łc̓anxʷ-uc-is 'to overhear someone talking'.

łc̓ma. 'belt' (2-86). Cp. łc̓-a-Ø 'to press'.

łi. łi-X 'Come on!'; ƛ̓a-łi-X 'Come on!' (9-38). łi occurs only with Imperative or Exhortative inflection.

łima-Ø. 'to claim, take'; łima-t-is 'to claim, take away from someone' (16-200).

ł···s. A person's name. (16-97).

łixłīkʷ-Ø. 'to be important, from a respected family' (16-43).

łi-. Diminutive. (5-12).

łk̓m-Ø. 'to speak' (1-141, 1-161, 2-71, 2-63, 7-13, 9-53, 10-247, 10-250, 11-111, 12-16, 15-2, 15-38, 15-60, 16-76, 16-136, 17-34, 17-36).

łkʷ-is. 'to pick up something'; łkʷ-a-Ø 'to pick up'; łkʷ-m-Ø 'to collect things'; łkʷ-m-uc-tus 'to lace something' (1-41); łkʷ-m-uc-ta 'lace' (1-76); ʔanu-łkʷ-m-īXʷ-is 'to carry something by a handle' (7-33).

łk̓ʷ-Ø. 'to be old' (1-3); 'to be big' (9-70, 9-171, 14-26); łłk̓ʷlx 'old people' [Reduplicated from łk̓ʷ-lx 'old person'] (1-3, 2-100, 3-98, 5-68, 7-27, 7-62, 9-243, 10-261, 11-114, 14-53, 15-26, 17-110, 17-120); łixłik̓ʷ-ułank-mx 'Big-Bellied Person[a person from Łixłik̓ʷułank, a former settlement on Kwatna Inlet]' (15-3). The settlement seems to have had boulders scattered about in front of it, and the name, łixłik̓ʷ-uł-ank big Redp-round-front, reflected this. Metanalysis yields the first meaning given here. Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 20 Vol. 1.

łlāX-is 'to clear land'; ʔał-łlāX-Ø 'to be cleared(of land)' (7-35); ʔał-łlāX-łł-t 'cleared land'. Cf. sc̓lāXłł.

-łł. Distant Past.

łm-Ø. 'to stand up' (3-73, 9-85, 10-30, 14-39, 16-76, 16-140, 16-141, 18-5); łm-ayx-Ø 'to stand' (5-104); ʔał-iłm-Ø 'to be standing' (1-122, 1-181, 10-20). Cf. ʔałił-Ø.

łmił. 'us, we; to be we' (2-101, 3-28, 6-25, 8-3, 9-137).

łmlikʷ. A person's name. (18-4, 18-5).

łmk̓mani. 'weasel' (9-240, 9-241).

łnūs. 'two' (9-219, 14-4, 14-7, 16-83, 16-96, 17-3, 17-76, 17-87, 17-111, 17-116).

-łp. 'tree, body' (12-86).

łq-Ø. 'to be wet'; łq-m-Ø 'to soak something'; łq-m-tus 'to make someone soak something' (6-12).

łq̓-is. 'to split something; to slice into strips' (12-30, 12-31); s-łq̓ 'a piece of something that has been split, viz. spring salmon skin' (10-56, 10-57, 10-60).

łq̓-is. 'to slap something'; łq̓-ak-m-Ø 'to clap hands' (1-108).

łtnm-Ø. 'to go up' (1-46).

łt-is. 'to hang, hook something up' (18-21, 18-22); ʔanu-łt-īXʷ-Ø 'to be hung up' (1-90, 1-92, 1-111); ʔanu-łt-m-nimut-Ø 'to be afraid of not being able to do something' (10-48); muXmuX--łt̓-uł-īk-an-ta 'earrings' (1-78); nu-łt-uł-lX̌s-ak-m-is 'to hook something with the end of something' (18-30).

łuc̓-is. 'to undress someone, to uncover something'; łuc̓-ūł-m-Ø 'to take off one's clothing' (10-36, 10-95).

łuk̓. łuk̓-anm-Ø 'to be tired and fed up'; łuk̓-nimut-Ø 'to think oneself worthless; to not like a place' (7-31); łuk̓-anm-m-is 'to be tired and fed up with something'. *łuk̓-Ø.

łukʷala-Ø. 'to have the spirit given to one, to know what and how to do things, to be apt' (2-214); łukʷala-yamk-is 'to acquire something by virtue of spirit power' (2-123, 10-169); ʔał--łukʷala-Ø 'to be a medicine man' (17-108, 18-33); łułkʷala--Ø 'to be getting to the stage of being good at things, to be becoming apt' (2-118, 2-124).

łuł. 'news'; łuł-amk-is 'to hear the news' (18-28); łuł-nix-is 'to perceive, feel something' (9-235); łuł-tus 'to give someone the news'; ʔaXʷ łuł-nix-ūs-m-is 'to not realize(the time is past)' (10-65). *łuł-is.

łułułnimut. A person's name. (12-3, 12-10).

łup. 'you(plural); to be you' (17-39, 17-41).

-łu. Persistive.

łupt-Ø. 'to breathe' (1-66, 1-67, 1-101); łunłupt-Ø 'to be breathing' (1-100).

łwałq̓-Ø. 'to be double layered, e.g. a cake or doors, one behind the other' (16-109).

łxʷ-is. 'to rush someone'; łxʷ-ayx-Ø 'to holler out, e.g. during a Hamaca dance; to jump up and carry on; to attack' (16-21, 16-23, 16-44, 16-91, 16-113, 17-74); łxʷ-uc-m-Ø 'to speak unexpectedly'; ʔałʔa-łxʷ-cut-Ø 'to rush about' (9-160); nunu-lXʷ-uc-m-Ø 'to chant, holler different kinds of sounds' (3-11, 3-15, 3-91, 3-93, 3-97, 10-185, 10-186).

ɬX. ʔus-ɬX-is 'to get out something that has been stored away for a long time' (18-34). *ɬX-is, *ɬX-Ø. Cf. ɬXan. Cp. ɬX-anɬ-Ø 'to want all of something for oneself, to be stingy'.

ɬXan. ɬXan-m-Ø 'to go hunting' (9-183, 10-4, 10-107, 10-108, 11-53, 16-217); ɬXan-m-amk-is 'to hunt for something, someone' (10-71); ʔus-ɬXan-is 'to take something from someone else's larder'; ʔus-ɬXan-cut-Ø 'to take something from one's larder' (6-11). *ɬXan-is, *ɬXan-Ø. Cf. ɬX.

ɬXʷ. ɬXʷ-m-Ø 'to flee, run away' (2-77, 3-76, 3-77, 4-9, 4-29, 11-84, 11-91, 14-40, 15-13); ɬXʷ-aq̓ʷs-ta 'that which wakes one' (15-55); ʔa-ɬXʷ-aq̓ʷs-tus 'to be made vigilant' (15-57); ʔaɬʔa-ɬXʷ-liwa-cut-ī-Ø 'to be in a hurry to go' (11-87); ʔix-ɬXʷmXʷm-Ø 'to flee' (10-193). *ɬXʷ-is, *ɬXʷ-Ø.

ɬXʷt-Ø. 'to crawl' (1-49).

- ƛ̓ -

ƛ̓a. 'black bear' (1-41).

ƛ̓a-. 'overcome hindrance'. ƛ̓a-ki-X 'Go on!' (1-142, 3-37, 7-50, 10-18, 10-35, 11-83, 14-39); ƛ̓a-ɬi-X 'Come on!' (9-38).

ƛ̓akʷani. 'elbow; awl' (10-85, 10-86, 10-87).

ƛ̓aɬakaʔilaqʷ. A person's name. (17-26).

ƛ̓ap-Ø. 'to go; to begin' (1-8, 1-9, 1-10, 1-27, 1-35, 1-36, 1-37, 1-38, 1-40, 1-44, 1-46, 1-55, 1-70, 1-93, 1-106, 1-109, 1-111, 1-113, 1-123, 1-166, 1-168, 1-174, 2-25, 2-49, 2-55, 2-63, 2-64, 2-70, 2-76, 2-88, 2-111, 3-3, 3-5, 3-6, 3-9, 3-15, 3-16, 3-31, 3-39, 3-41, 3-47, 3-59, 3-65, 3-69, 3-73, 3-74, 3-76, 3-79, 3-80, 3-86, 4-10, 4-19, 5-16, 5-32, 5-35, 5-36, 5-44, 5-51, 5-52, 5-59, 5-77, 6-12, 6-13, 7-37, 7-40, 7-52, 8-18, 8-51, 8-52, 9-3, 9-9, 9-14, 9-19, 9-26, 9-32, 9-35, 9-42, 9-43, 9-50, 9-53, 9-68, 9-94, 9-100, 9-105, 9-128, 9-130, 9-133, 9-134, 9-135, 9-143, 9-144, 9-152, 9-159, 9-161, 9-162, 9-176, 9-178, 9-182, 9-183, 9-194, 9-195, 9-200, 9-210, 9-128, 9-227, 9-233, 9-243, 9-247, 9-252, 10-4, 10-7, 10-11, 10-20, 10-24, 10-32, 10-34, 10-39, 10-48, 10-53, 10-62, 10-73, 10-75, 10-77, 10-81, 10-83, 10-85, 10-86, 10-102, 10-140, 10-145, 10-148, 10-156, 10-171, 10-179, 10-180, 10-183, 10-186, 10-188, 10-195, 10-198, 10-218, 10-226, 10-244, 11-4, 11-7, 11-10, 11-17, 11-19, 11-29, 11-51, 11-53, 11-55, 11-58, 11-65, 11-66, 11-72, 11-73, 11-77, 11-89, 11-91, 11-93, 11-98, 12-4, 12-10, 12-11, 12-13, 12-21, 12-30, 12-34, 12-45, 12-49, 12-53, 12-71, 12-75, 12-89, 13-20, 13-23, 13-24, 13-27, 13-36, 13-42, 14-5, 14-28, 14-36, 14-41, 15-5, 15-8, 15-10, 15-12, 15-23, 15-43, 16-12, 16-34, 16-46, 16-49, 16-58, 16-65, 16-77, 16-81, 16-87, 16-90, 16-95, 16-104, 16-125, 16-180, 16-229, 17-29, 17-50, 17-57, 17-58, 17-61, 17-62, 17-64, 17-66, 17-79, 17-80, 17-84, 17-94, 17-111, 17-115, 17-116, 18-10); 'time' (2-44); ƛap-amk-is 'to get something' (2-125, 16-121, 16-203, 16-205); ƛap-liwa-m-is 'to start something with someone, e.g. an argument' (7-12).

ƛaqamūc. A person's name. (9-145).

ƛi-Ø. 'to be fast' (5-55, 9-179, 11-22, 17-34). Cf. ƛikm-Ø.

ƛikm-Ø. 'to run' (1-111, 1-113, 1-114, 2-76, 2-79, 3-73, 9-50, 9-66, 9-83, 9-144); ƛikm-timut-Ø 'to run away' (9-26, 9-27, 9-30, 9-55, 16-159); ƛixƛikm-Ø 'to run around' (9-227). Cf. ƛi-Ø.

ƛkuł. 'hill, hump' (10-246, 10-256).

ƛł-Ø. 'to be dry' (1-122): nu-ƛł-lx-Ø 'to get dry' (14-45, 14-46).

ƛła. ƛła-it 'You can go.' (9-48, 9-136, 10-23).

ƛmsta. 'person, human' 1-4, 1-5, 1-11, 1-13, 1-19, 1-27, 1-41, 1-43, 1-52, 1-66, 1-79, 1-80, 1-91, 1-101, 1-104, 1-143, 1-145, 1-151, 1-154, 1-178, 1-182, 2-5, 2-8, 2-11, 2-12, 2-33, 2-35, 2-36, 2-56, 2-63, 2-71, 2-72, 2-83, 2-89, 2-95, 2-96, 2-99, 2-110, 2-114, 2-116, 2-123, 3-49, 3-59, 3-61, 3-66, 3-78, 3-80, 3-85, 4-3, 4-11, 4-22, 5-4, 5-16, 5-22, 5-27, 5-38, 5-40, 5-61, 5-66, 5-72, 5-92, 6-5, 6-7, 6-8, 6-9, 6-10, 6-12, 6-14, 6-16, 6-23, 6-24, 6-27, 6-28, 7-5, 7-12, 7-16, 7-20, 7-24, 7-30, 7-33, 7-36, 7-46, 7-51, 7-70, 8-13, 8-17, 8-34, 8-49, 9-10, 9-16, 9-20, 9-22, 9-26, 9-29, 9-34, 9-41, 9-42, 9-49, 9-58, 9-65, 9-104, 9-128, 9-142, 9-149, 9-179, 9-181, 9-186, 9-227, 9-232, 9-233, 10-10, 10-12, 10-13, 10-24, 10-37, 10-39, 10-41, 10-42, 10-65, 10-67, 10-69, 10-79, 10-82, 10-94, 10-99, 10-144, 10-168, 10-189, 10-202, 10-203, 10-232, 10-243, 10-251, 11-26, 11-31, 12-2, 12-10, 12-15, 12-16, 12-18, 12-19, 12-30, 12-47, 12-54, 12-57, 12-64, 12-71, 12-72, 12-79, 12-81, 12-88, 12-94, 13-7, 13-18, 13-23, 13-43, 13-44, 14-21, 14-26, 14-29, 14-30, 14-33, 15-5, 15-11, 15-23, 15-37, 15-39, 15-43, 15-47, 15-50, 15-58, 16-7, 16-10, 16-20, 16-31, 16-49, 16-53, 16-77, 16-99, 16-151, 17-4, 17-5, 17-8, 17-10, 17-49, 17-52, 17-72, 17-87, 17-88, 17-93, 17-96, 17-108, 17-117, 18-10, 18-14,

18-19, 18-23, 18-24, 18-25, 18-31); ʔaɬ-mƛ̓msta-t-is 'to see in person' (7-51); s-ƛ̓msta-nalus 'human spirit' (9-246, 9-249); s-ƛ̓msta-nalus-am-Ø 'to become human' (7-12, 8-11).

ƛ̓mstn. Cf. ƛ̓msta. (7-12, 7-20).

ƛ̓p-is. 'to pinch; to cut(with scissors)'; ƛ̓p-aɬ-m-Ø 'to break off from a group; to stop off' (16-62).

ƛ̓uk̓-Ø. 'to be high' (1-61, 1-70, 1-171, 1-174, 11-57, 11-66, 11-70, 11-89, 11-91, 15-20); ʔaɬ-ƛ̓uk̓-is 'to carry something on one's shoulder' (3-40).

ƛ̓Xm-Ø. 'to go off(e.g. a gun)' (14-12, 14-13); nu-ƛ̓Xm-īk-Ø 'to burst in' (16-115).

ƛ̓yuk. ʔix-ƛ̓yuk-m-is 'to go have a talk, argument with someone'; s-ƛ̓yuk 'talk, gossip, rumor' (2-35, 16-42). *ƛ̓yuk-Ø.

- m -

-m. Mediopassive. (1-25, 1-31, 1-33, 1-41, 1-52, 1-53, 1-54, 1-64, 1-68, 1-74, 1-76, 1-83, 1-91, 1-93, 1-108, 1-109, 1-122, 1-153, 1-159, 1-163, 1-166, 1-170, 1-174, 1-176, 1-181, 1-193, 2-2, 2-3, 2-6, 2-27, 2-33, 2-39, 2-41, 2-55, 2-60, 2-64, 2-72, 2-77, 2-83, 2-94, 2-95, 2-97, 2-108, 2-109, 2-111, 3-1, 3-2, 3-7, 3-9, 3-11, 3-15, 3-27, 3-28, 3-30, 3-34, 3-35, 3-39, 3-41, 3-57, 3-61, 3-62, 3-71, 3-76, 3-77, 3-85, 3-91, 3-93, 3-97, 3-98, 3-99, 4-7, 4-8, 4-9, 4-18, 4-29, 5-7, 5-11, 5-12, 5-30, 5-31, 5-36, 5-42, 5-48, 5-52, 5-54, 5-59, 5-60, 5-67, 5-71, 5-74, 5-89, 5-91, 5-95, 5-96, 5-97, 5-98, 6-5, 6-14, 6-19, 6-26, 7-2, 7-14, 7-15, 7-16, 7-20, 7-29, 7-32, 7-33, 7-34, 7-38, 7-39, 7-69, 7-72, 8-4, 8-14, 8-16, 8-22, 8-30, 8-31, 8-34, 8-41, 8-55, 9-2, 9-3, 9-5, 9-7, 9-8, 9-10, 9-19, 9-35, 9-44, 9-102, 9-179, 9-181, 9-183, 9-195, 9-200, 9-214, 9-218, 9-245, 9-248, 9-250, 10-4, 10-7, 10-8, 10-9, 10-10, 10-20, 10-36, 10-42, 10-45, 10-46, 10-47, 10-48, 10-49, 10-50, 10-63, 10-65, 10-71, 10-77, 10-84, 10-87, 10-88, 10-95, 10-96, 10-107, 10-108, 10-110, 10-116, 10-121, 10-129, 10-133, 10-136, 10-140, 10-144, 10-156, 10-157, 10-160, 10-168, 10-185, 10-186, 10-193, 10-199, 10-206, 10-211, 10-220, 10-225, 10-232, 10-233, 10-235, 10-242, 10-246, 10-259, 11-7, 11-10, 11-12, 11-30, 11-31, 11-32, 11-33, 11-35, 11-40, 11-41, 11-48, 11-53, 11-58, 11-84, 11-91, 11-96, 11-98, 11-99, 12-2, 12-12, 12-35, 12-40, 12-53, 12-58, 12-72, 12-77, 12-81, 12-82, 12-89, 13-28, 13-42, 14-2, 14-3, 14-8, 14-15, 14-18, 14-19, 14-23, 14-24, 14-36, 14-40, 14-47, 15-13, 15-14, 15-16, 15-18, 15-24, 15-28, 15-31, 15-41, 15-58, 15-61, 15-65, 16-7, 16-62, 16-71, 16-76, 16-81, 16-82, 16-95, 16-101, 16-102, 16-146, 16-150, 16-151, 16-161, 16-162, 16-164, 16-171, 16-173, 16-175, 16-178, 16-180, 16-181, 16-189, 16-190, 16-199, 16-217, 16-221, 17-4, 17-10, 17-13, 17-28, 17-36, 17-46, 17-56, 17-66, 17-74, 17-82, 17-83, 17-92, 17-94, 17-102, 17-109, 18-16, 18-21, 18-23, 18-30, 18-31).

-m. Transitivizer. (1-14, 1-31, 1-62, 2-60, 2-86, 3-78, 5-88, 5-90, 6-7, 6-8, 6-15, 6-16, 7-12, 8-17, 9-4, 9-14, 9-20, 9-22, 9-35, 9-46, 9-49, 9-51, 9-81, 9-86, 9-88, 9-93, 9-94, 9-142, 9-150, 9-162, 9-206, 9-210, 9-213, 9-249, 10-12, 10-14, 10-19, 10-26, 10-27, 10-28, 10-29, 10-90, 10-169, 10-217, 10-218, 10-221, 11-18, 11-49, 12-2, 13-38, 15-2, 15-27, 15-44, 16-204, 17-12, 17-25, 17-30, 17-32, 17-33, 17-39, 17-58, 17-96, 18-21).

-m. Cf. -ma. (2-19, 9-41, 9-112, 10-133, 10-137, 12-61, 12-72, 17-92, 18-32).

ma. Cf. maw. (2-44).

m···a. A person's name (17-57, 17-72, 17-107).

-ma. Dubitative. 'maybe'.

mac-is. 'to put floats, beads, etc. on a line or string'; nu-mac-is 'to thread beads, corks, etc. on a line, string'; nu-mac-ik-is 'to floor something(e.g. a boat, box)' (10-214, 10-215, 10-217); nu-mac-ik-Ø 'to be floored'.

macq̓ʷ. 'frog' (3-26, 3-42, 3-43).

maka. 'testicle' (1-77, 1-80).

mal. mal-īXʷ-is 'to mix something'; ʔaɬ-mal-īXʷ-Ø 'to be mixed(e.g. people, colors, fruit)' (16-99). *mal-is, *mal-Ø.

mamis. 'fly(insect)' (2-48, 2-51).

mamnc. 'children' (1-72, 1-109, 1-189, 2-101, 6-28, 9-142, 9-161, 15-65, 16-43, 17-72, 17-73, 17-107, 17-109, 17-116, 17-122). Cf. mna.

mamnta. Cf. mnta. (9-24, 9-25).

man. 'father' (5-76, 9-101, 9-121, 9-163, 9-168, 9-204, 9-207, 9-214, 9-224, 9-244, 9-245, 9-246, 9-250, 9-254, 15-40, 15-46, 15-53, 17-52).

-mas. Absolutive. 'always'.

maw. 'one, another one' (1-10, 1-11, 1-154, 1-160, 1-180, 2-44, 2-70, 2-84, 2-99, 2-110, 3-6, 3-23, 2-63, 7-10, 7-11, 7-12, 7-29, 7-47, 7-49, 8-9, 9-46, 9-81, 9-142, 9-150, 9-152, 10-7, 10-105, 11-22, 11-25, 12-2, 12-66, 13-25, 13-33, 13-45, 14-6, 14-8, 14-9, 14-10, 15-5, 15-23, 15-30, 16-49, 16-62, 16-65, 16-68, 16-85, 16-86, 16-97, 16-98, 16-158, 16-188, 16-208, 17-8, 17-9, 17-41, 17-49, 17-53, 17-64, 17-77, 17-85, 17-89, 17-94, 17-101, 17-113, 17-122, 18-24, 18-34); 'a certain' (1-11, 16-67).

may. Cf. way. (10-163, 11-48).

māsk. 'how many?'; māsk-āX-ał-Ø 'How many days' travel does it take one?' (7-55); ʔal-a-māsk-āX 'For how many days?: (16-4); nu-māsk 'How many(people) now?' (16-37).

-mi. Cf. -m. Mediopassive. (2-6, 2-83, 3-27, 3-39, 5-30, 8-22).

mila. 'cane, walking stick' (2-74, 2-75).

mna. 'offspring, child' (6-29, 9-123, 9-138, 9-149, 9-156, 9-161, 9-206, 9-213, 9-248, 9-251, 9-255, 11-9, 11-12, 11-13, 11-24, 11-33, 14-29, 15-28, 15-29, 16-212, 16-215, 17-61, 17-106, 17-114); mna-m-is 'to adopt someone' (9-4).

mnk. 'shit' (10-14, 10-15, 11-72, 11-73, 11-74, 11-76, 11-82, 11-86).

mnł-is. 'to pay someone'; mnł-a-t-is 'to measure something'; nu-mnł-a-t-ik-m-is 'to figure out, calculate something' (16-190).

mnłkʷa. 'hair' (16-64).

mnsk-tis. 'to count something, people' (16-105).

mnta. 'path, way' (1-171, 2-78, 7-4, 9-6, 9-59, 9-63, 9-69, 9-72, 9-76, 9-141, 9-191, 10-7, 10-34, 10-158, 10-169, 10-175, 10-181, 10-182, 10-201, 14-43, 14-47, 17-98); mamnta 'path' (9-24, 9-25, 18-7); mamntn-ī 'trail, path' (18-6, 18-8).

mt. Cf. ʔmt. (10-119, 16-4, 16-27, 16-46).

ʔmt-Ø. 'to get up from bed' (10-56, 10-64, 16-151, 16-152, 18-21); 'to sit down' (13-39, 14-32); ʔmt-ī-Ø 'to sit' (9-100, 10-119); nu-ʔmt-uc-is 'to sit in front of something'; n-mt-uc-ayx-Ø 'to be sat in front of' (16-4, 16-27, 16-46).

mucalxʷ-Ø. 'to be confusing' (10-211). *mucalxʷ-is.

mulm-Ø. 'to dive underwater' (1-118, 1-120, 1-128, 16-63).

mus-is. 'to feel something(by hand)' (1-65, 1-67, 1-100); mus-m-Ø 'to spy on someone, to size someone up' (16-95).

-mut. Reflexive. (1-8, 1-20, 1-29, 14-6, 14-9).

muX. muXmuX-łt̓-uł-īk-an-ta 'earrings' (1-78). McIlwraith (1948: 592 Vol. 2) records "moxmoxłt̓ołıkända: Dentalium-shell earrings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion."

mū-Ø. 'to be more' (12-25, 12-40, 15-8).

mūs. 'four' (2-3, 2-62, 3-2, 7-8, 9-46, 9-80, 9-216, 9-217, 11-4, 16-18, 16-26, 16-29, 16-32, 16-45).

-mūt. Cf. -mut. (1-29).

-mx. 'inhabitant, person, one who' (3-12, 3-24, 3-39, 8-52, 10-113, 15-3, 15-50, 15-52, 15-59, 15-60, 16-38, 16-39, 16-40, 16-41, 16-84, 16-137, 16-138, 16-229, 17-63, 17-74, 17-105, 17-115, 18-25).

- n -

n. Cf. ʔn. (1-189).

ʔn. 'and' 1-189, 3-20, 3-59, 9-45, 9-161, 9-195, 10-106, 12-66, 13-8, 14-32, 14-38, 15-30, 15-56, 16-36, 17-61, 17-77).

n-. Cf. nu-. (16-4, 16-27, 16-46, 17-41).

-n. Cf. -m. Mediopassive. (12-35, 12-72).

na. na-nix-is 'to mourn someone' (1-32, 11-105, 11-107, 11-109); na-nimut-Ø 'to mourn, feel sorry for oneself' (5-23); 'to forget oneself(and do what one otherwise would not have done); na-nix-ik-m-is 'to forget something' (9-81); nu-na-nix-ik-m-is 'to forget all about something' (8-4, 9-46). *na-Ø, *na-timut-Ø. Cf. ʔna.

ʔna. 'what's-his-name' (16-69).

-na. 'experience' (10-18).

-nalus. Cf. -alus. 'want, try' (3-77, 3-78, 5-92, 7-12, 8-11, 9-245, 9-246, 9-247, 9-249, 16-78, 16-160, 16-175).

-nalus. Cf. -alus. 'piece, between' (12-59, 12-78, 12-79).

-nam. Cf. -anm. (12-93).

nanitkʷ. 'spade' (10-114, 10-120); nanitkʷ-is 'to spade something'. *nitkʷ.

nanmk̓. 'animal' (1-33, 1-46, 1-48, 1-55, 1-62, 1-68, 1-72, 1-97, 1-131, 1-153, 1-164, 1-171, 1-176, 1-183, 7-16, 8-25, 8-45, 10-13, 10-27, 10-29, 10-32, 10-36, 10-56, 10-71, 10-72, 10-84, 10-90, 10-91, 10-99, 10-104, 10-177, 10-178, 10-193, 10-235, 10-259, 12-9, 12-93, 13-8, 13-35, 14-36).

nap. 'thing, object' (16-78, 16-112); 'individual, guy' (16-134, 16-178, 16-184, 16-190, 16-192).

nap-is. 'to give someone something' (16-92).

napamxʷ-is. 'to find out sbout something, someone' (1-18, 16-51); ʔał-napamxʷ-is 'to know about something, someone'.

naqači. A person's name. (8-36).

-naw. Cf. -aw. Plural. (1-142, 7-50, 11-62).

nax. nax-liwa-Ø 'to be prepared, ready, settled' (5-82, 5-85, 7-19, 7-76, 10-155, 16-48, 16-60); nax-liwa-nix-is 'to get something ready' (5-81); nax-liwa-nimut-Ø 'to prepare, ready oneself' (2-53); nax-liwa-timut-Ø 'to make ready' (15-20); nax-nūlī-Ø 'to get a little done'. *nax-is, *nax-Ø.

-nay. Cf. -ay. (9-49, 9-57, 10-165).

nc. Cf. ʔnc. (1-27, 5-69, 5-70).

ʔnc. 'me; to be I' (1-27, 1-78, 3-98, 5-69, 5-70, 7-16, 8-15, 9-22, 9-147, 9-203, 9-207, 10-32, 12-18, 15-66, 16-166, 16-168, 18-21, 18-22).

nic. ninic-Ø 'to be alive, live' (1-16, 1-17, 1-24, 2-84, 5-38, 8-15, 9-236, 16-132, 16-133); ninic-m-is 'to keep oneself alive' (5-67, 6-5, 7-20, 8-16, 8-17); ninic-m-layx-Ø 'to cause someone to come alive' (18-33); nic-m-Ø 'to come alive' (2-94, 10-168, 10-242, 11-31, 18-23, 18-31); nic-m-tus 'to revive someone' (18-21). *nic-is, *nic-Ø.

n...ik. Cf. nu...ik. (15-6).

-nimut. Limited Control Reflexive. (1-116, 2-52, 2-53, 2-56, 2-115, 2-116, 2-122, 5-23, 7-31, 9-65, 9-208, 9-228, 10-47, 10-141, 11-15, 14-44, 15-3, 16-112, 17-19, 17-117, 17-118).

ninicmlayx. A person's name. (18-33).

nix-. Cf. ʔinix-. (1-116, 1-130).

-nix. Limited Control. 'accidentally, manage' (1-32, 1-73, 1-116, 1-130, 1-149, 2-47, 3-45, 5-81, 5-85, 5-98, 7-20, 7-24, 7-25, 7-75, 8-4, 8-32, 8-41, 8-49, 9-46, 9-49, 9-57, 9-67, 9-74, 9-81, 9-115, 9-151, 9-160, 9-190, 9-235, 10-27, 10-60, 10-65, 10-66, 10-118, 10-120, 10-165, 10-186, 10-203, 10-233, 11-38, 11-76, 11-105, 11-107, 11-109, 12-14, 12-15, 12-26, 12-61, 12-71, 12-75, 12-78, 13-7, 13-48, 14-3, 14-37, 16-11, 16-30, 16-141, 16-149, 16-192, 16-212, 16-213, 16-227, 16-232, 17-5, 17-7, 17-55, 17-87, 17-99, 18-13, 18-17); cxʷi-nix-is 'to think it's enough' (16-220); ƛmsta-nix-is 'to think it's a person' (2-11, 2-12, 2-36, 6-10); nu-ya-yāɬ-nix-is 'to think the path is clear' (9-25); ya-nix-is 'to think something, someone is good; to like something, someone' (5-77, 15-18); ʔaɬʔaɬ-cim-nix-is 'to think someone was speaking' (2-117).

nīXʷ. 'fire' (1-184, 10-134, 10-135, 11-28, 14-26, 14-28, 14-30, 14-34). Cf. ʔīXʷ-Ø 'to get burned'.

-nk. 'bottom' (14-18); 'tail' (9-242).

-nk. Cf. -ank. (5-96).

nƛ. Cf. ʔnƛ. (12-43, 16-146, 16-151, 16-229, 17-80, 17-81, 18-5).

ʔnƛ̓. 'nighttime' (12-46, 16-95); ʔnƛ̓-ał-Ø 'to travel at night' (14-42, 16-82); ʔix-ʔnƛ̓-ał-Ø 'to go about at night' (18-5); ʔix-ʔnƛ̓-ał-m-is 'to visit someone at night' (16-146, 16-151); s-nƛ̓ 'night' (12-43, 16-229, 17-80, 17-81).

nm-is. 'to seal off; to shelter something, e.g. to put something away where it won't get wet'; nm-ak-m-is 'to use, handle something'; nmnm-ak-m-is 'to hold something in one's hands' (15-54); nm-cut-Ø 'to hole up, e.g. in a cave'; ʔał-nm-Ø 'to be put away; to hibernate'; ʔał-nm-layx-Ø 'to have seen something hibernating' (3-24, 3-26, 3-34).

-nm. Limited Control Developmental. 'get, become' (7-23, 9-39, 9-42, 12-47, 12-48, 13-3, 16-157, 17-42, 17-80, 17-81, 17-90, 17-91, 17-92, 17-98).

nmp-is. 'to put something into a container' (12-13, 12-20, 17-24); nmp-imut-Ø 'to get into something' (2-16, 10-220, 11-61, 14-41, 16-59); nmp-ay-nix-is 'to get something into something' (12-14, 16-192); nmp-ayx-Ø 'to get into' (2-22, 9-199); ʔał-nmp-Ø 'to be put into' (9-175, 11-67, 11-69, 11-90, 17-27).

-nmx. Cf. -mx. (16-137).

nu-. 'human' (1-10, 1-11, 1-109, 1-110, 1-154, 1-160, 1-180, 2-3, 2-62, 2-70, 2-84, 2-110, 3-2, 3-6, 3-23, 3-63, 7-8, 7-10, 7-12, 7-47, 7-49, 8-9, 9-142, 9-150, 9-152, 10-7, 10-104, 11-4, 11-22, 11-25, 12-2, 12-66, 13-25, 13-45, 14-4, 14-7, 14-8, 15-5, 15-23, 15-30, 16-37, 16-49, 16-65, 16-67, 16-68, 16-83, 16-85, 16-86, 16-96, 16-97, 16-98, 16-105, 16-182, 16-183, 16-188, 16-208, 17-3, 17-8, 17-9, 17-41, 17-53, 17-64, 17-76, 17-77, 17-85, 17-87, 17-89, 17-94, 17-111, 17-113, 17-116, 18-24, 18-34); 'agent' (1-55, 1-164, 1-177, 1-186, 1-188, 2-22, 2-50, 2-88, 3-11, 3-15, 3-39, 3-60, 3-72, 3-91, 3-92, 3-93, 3-97, 4-22, 5-21, 5-41, 5-44, 5-60, 5-88, 5-90, 5-97, 5-98, 7-24, 8-26, 8-32, 8-33, 8-41, 8-42, 8-43, 8-44, 8-47, 8-49, 8-53, 9-166, 9-211, 9-213, 9-217, 9-224, 9-242, 10-102, 10-103, 10-113, 10-126, 10-128, 10-133, 10-136, 10-142, 10-144, 10-145, 10-185, 10-186, 10-199, 10-201, 10-214, 10-215, 10-217, 11-9, 11-16, 11-18, 11-19, 11-29, 11-30, 11-70, 11-71, 11-75, 11-92, 11-112, 12-12, 12-15, 12-16, 12-26, 12-46, 12-73, 13-15, 13-17, 13-19, 13-52, 14-16, 15-2, 15-41, 16-7, 16-9, 16-52, 16-76, 16-79, 16-112, 16-131, 16-149, 16-154, 16-156, 16-157, 16-171, 16-178, 17-2, 17-16, 17-32, 17-41, 17-42, 17-48, 17-73, 18-26, 18-30); 'place' (3-44, 3-91, 4-26, 4-27, 5-86, 9-25, 9-39, 9-231, 10-22, 12-58, 12-96, 14-45, 14-46, 14-49, 16-4, 16-27, 16-46, 17-18); 'time' (5-9).

nucakʷāX. 'wolf' (12-9, 12-14, 12-15, 12-16, 12-22, 12-40, 12-42, 12-52, 12-63, 12-77, 13-5, 13-6, 13-19, 13-25, 13-28, 13-30, 13-32, 13-34, 13-39, 13-41, 13-42, 13-48, 13-52).

nucał. 'small lake, pond' (9-69, 9-70). Cp. cał 'lake'.

nuhawhawtałł. A location---the mountain adjacent to the present village of Bella Coola on the south. (4-26, 4-27).

nu...ik. 'internal' (4-5, 9-127, 9-132, 9-216, 9-240, 10-43, 10-54, 12-23, 16-6, 16-52, 16-115, 16-155, 16-190); 'middle' (16-155, 16-156); n-axʷsnix-ik-ūc-is 'to overhear someone' (15-6); nu-cut-ik-Ø 'to think' (10-42); nunu-cut-ik-Ø 'to be thinking' (1-99); nu-na-nix-ik-m-is 'to forget all about something' (8-4, 9-46); na-nix-ik-m-is 'to forget something' (9-81).

nu...īk. Cf. nu...ik. (16-115).

nukali. Cf. anukali. (2-109).

nukłm-is. 'to cross, go across something'; nukłm-Ø 'to cross, go over, e.g. inlet, river, street' (1-123, 10-227, 10-234). *nukł-Ø, *nukł-is, *kłm-is. Cp. kł-m-Ø 'to put down, lower'. Cf. kł-Ø.

nukʷλ̓āq. 'pot' (3-87). Cf. kʷλ̓-is.

nułp-is. 'to pack something' (2-24); 'to load a conveyance, e.g. boat, box, car, etc.' (17-14, 17-93); nułp-cut-Ø 'to load one's vehicle' (16-214). Cp. łp-is 'to pick up scattered objects and put them in one place'.

nuλ̓l. 'canyon' (8-25, 8-27, 8-48, 10-161, 10-162, 10-172); a location---Kimsquit (8-42).

num. num-ał-m-is 'to scatter' (15-18), 'to go all over someplace'; num-uc-is 'to close the door' (9-91, 16-122); num-uc-ta 'door' (3-69, 16-109). *num-is. Cf. nm-is.

nunuq̓ʷays. A location---on Kwatna Inlet. McIlwraith (1948: 20 Vol. 1) lists seven settlements at Kwatna; the name of the seventh is "unknown". This may be it. Cf. q̓ʷay.

nunusk̓imayx. A person's name. (7-65, 7-68). Cf. k̓im-is.

nunuXimīXʷ. A person's name. (17-61). Cf. Xim-Ø.

nuq̓iłāXta. 'spider' (2-12, 2-21, 2-46, 2-47, 2-50). Cp. q̓ił-is 'to scratch lightly, tickle'.

nuq̓ʷ. nuq̓ʷ-ał 'part' (16-174); nuq̓ʷ-āXāX-Ø 'the bottom is cracking open' (1-59); nuq̓ʷ-ik-is 'to divide something'; nuq̓ʷ-ik-am-nix-is 'to get something divided' (7-24). *nuq̓ʷ-is, *nuq̓ʷ-Ø.

nuq̓ʷikmlayx. Cf. nuq̓ʷikmlayxana. (7-17, 7-18, 7-26).

nuq̓ʷikmlayxana. A person's name. (7-10, 7-17, 7-18, 7-26). Cf. nuq̓ʷ.

nusac̓m. A location---the stream that flows northward into the Bella Coola River approximately thirteen miles east of the town of Bella Coola. (7-1, 7-11). Cf. also Boas [illegible]98: 49. Cf. ʔnXaɬi.

nusik̓ʷikta. 'quiver' (9-174).

nusīxta. A person's name. (12-69).

nuskim-is. 'to place good signs; to give good luck' (5-92, 5-93). *skim--is. Cp. skim-mx 'masseur'.

nusmaɬīXʷayx. A location---a small mountain near Stuie. (7-66, 7-67).

nusqlata. 'water pot; piss pot' (2-70, 8-8, 8-9, 9-29, 9-31, 9-40, 9-43, 9-51, 9-52, 9-53, 9-55). Cf. qla.

nusq̓lst. A location---a mountain east of nusac̓m. Cf. q̓lst.

nuX. nuX-nix-is 'to catch soemthing, to get something entangled' (2-47); nuX-nimut-Ø 'to get oneself caught'. *nuX-is.

nuXalk. A location---the Bella Coola valley. (5-93); nuXalk-mx 'a Bella Coola' (16-84, 16-138, 17-74). Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 11 Vol. 1 and Davis and Saunders 1975: 853.

nuXʷski. 'soapberry' (6-4, 6-12, 6-15, 6-16, 6-19, 6-24, 6-25).

nuyamɬ-is. 'to sing to someone'; nuyamɬ-Ø 'to sing' (11-109, 16-164, 16-169, 16-229); nuyamɬ-amk-is 'to sing something'.

nuyanc. A location---on the Burke Channel approximately one mile west of Loiyentsi Point(popularly called "Ten Mile Point"). (16-72). Cp. yanc 'driftwood'.

nu...yk. Cf. nu...ik. (16-52).

-nūlī. Diminutive. (12-85).

nūsqa-Ø. 'to give birth' (9-119). Cf. ʔus-qa-Ø.

ʔnXaɬi. A location---the valley through which the stream called nusac̓m flows. (7-2, 7-3, 7-11).

- p -

pacaɬ-Ø. 'to be first' (3-94, 7-48, 7-63, 13-6, 13-40, 13-41, 16-233, 16-234, 17-21).

pakʷ. pakʷ-nix-is 'to catch up to someone' (1-130, 9-49). *pakʷ-is.

panya-Ø. 'to smoke, e.g. fish'; panya-t-is 'to smoke something' (7-22); nu-s-panyā-sta 'smokehouse'.

papink. 'snake' (2-75, 2-78, 2-91, 2-92, 2-93).

piqiyala. 'box' (9-42).

pāX-is. 'to name someone, give someone a name' (18-33); pāX-amk-is 'to name, call the name of something, someone' (3-20); pāX-cut-Ø 'to name oneself (6-24); ˀał-pāX-tum 'to carry the name, to be named' (4-26, 7-66, 8-50); ˀał-pāX-Ø 'to be named' (5-101, 9-120); nu-papq-uc-is 'to address someone by name' (11-72, 11-76, 12-16).

pāXu-Ø. 'to be afraid' (3-60, 9-93, 16-17, 16-31).

pāXuła-Ø. 'to be fierce, powerful' (8-45); pāXuła-liwa-Ø 'to appear threatening' (10-52); ˀus-pāXuła-yayx-Ø 'to be bothered with something fierce, powerful' (10-205, 10-240).

pik̓-Ø. 'to be shiny' (2-20).

piq̓-Ø. 'to be wide'; puq̓-uł 'a type of hat' (17-4).

piq̓t-Ø. 'to fart'; pixpiq̓t-Ø 'to fart repeatedly' (1-55).

pk̓m. 'mosquito' (9-254, 9-255).

plik-is. 'to turn something over'; plik-m-Ø 'to turn over' (10-232, 10-233); ˀał-plik-Ø 'to be turned over'. Cp. pl-ak-Ø 'to be without hands, handless'; pl-īXʷ-Ø 'to be headless', etc.

plkīwa. 'box' (5-43, 5-48, 5-52).

plxʷlaqs. A person's name. (15-30, 15-62, 16-21, 16-57, 16-233).

płt-Ø. 'to be thick' (2-78).

pq̓ʷ. 'powdery snow'; ˀix-pq̓ʷ-m-Ø 'snow blizzard' (5-20); s-pq̓ʷ 'snowdrift; settled dust'.

psuł. Cf. ˀapsuł. (11-33).

pucq̓. 'hellebore' (5-49, 5-50); pupucq̓ 'hellebore' (5-56).

pułas. A person's name. (16-3, 16-27, 16-47, 16-51).

puƛ̓-Ø. 'to come' (1-77, 1-85, 1-119, 2-22, 2-52, 2-122, 3-61, 4-14, 5-3, 5-14, 5-19, 5-27, 5-38, 5-88, 5-94, 6-6, 6-7, 6-18, 6-21, 7-32, 11-27, 11-32, 11-33, 11-34, 11-95, 12-86, 13-30, 14-42, 14-52, 16-14, 16-161, 16-173, 16-194, 16-199, 16-206, 16-212, 16-218, 17-19, 17-114, 17-117, 18-27); puƛ̓-ay-layx-Ø 'to get, obtain' (13-49); puƛ̓-ay-nix-is 'to catch something' (10-118, 12-26); puƛ̓-m-is 'to come after someone(to fight)' (15-27, 17-30, 17-32); puƛ̓-us-Ø 'to surface' (16-66, 16-67); pūƛ̓-us-Ø 'to keep surfacing' (12-8); pumpuƛ̓-us-Ø 'to keep surfacing' (13-4); punpuƛ̓-us-Ø 'to keep surfacing' (12-7); puƛ̓-us-timut-Ø 'to surface' (16-191); ˀał-puƛ̓-ayx-Ø 'to get caught, taken' (1-83, 13-36, 13-52); s-puƛ̓-lt 'children' (6-27).

puq̓ʷs. 'a sasquatch, bigfoot-like creature' (14-3, 14-4, 14-31).

pus-Ø. 'to grow' (9-170); pus-m-likt-Ø 'to swell up' (12-82); nu-pus-m-Ø 'to float up' (12-12).

- p̓ -

p̓a. p̓a-lx-Ø 'to wake up' (3-54, 4-6); p̓a-lx-alus-Ø 'to be just then waking up' (18-14); p̓a-lx-alus-nix-is 'to try to awaken someone' (18-13); nu-p̓a-lx-ik-Ø 'to start awake' (4-5). *p̓a-Ø.

p̓īXla-Ø. 'to drift(where there is no current, without direction)' (7-41, 7-43, 12-36); p̓īXla-timut-Ø 'to cause oneself to drift' (7-42); ʔix-p̓īXla-timut-Ø 'to drift about' (13-25); ʔus-p̓īXl-ayx-timut-Ø 'to make oneself drift on the water' (7-60).

- q -

qa. 'outside' (1-191, 3-57, 3-63, 3-64, 3-89, 4-11, 9-19, 9-85, 9-144, 9-161, 10-125, 10-127); ʔas-qa-yał 'totem' (15-37, 15-39, 15-40, 15-58, 15-60); ʔus-qa-tus 'to take something, someone outside' (10-75, 10-76). *qa-Ø.

qamXamʔilaw. Now generally unknown. The form is commented upon by McIlwraith (1948: 605 Vol. 2): "qämxämila, vocative, qämxämilao: 1-Term used for the spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. 2-Term used by snιnιq to human beings, who are like salmon to them. 3-Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings." Cf. also Boas 1898: 78.

qał-is. 'to squeeze(e.g. the trigger)' (14-14); ʔas-qał-a-s 'As he was squeezing(the trigger)...' (16-128).

qayt. 'hat'; ʔas-qayt-Ø 'to wear a hat' (17-4); ʔas-qayt-m-is 'to wear something as a hat' (17-5).

qāklis. A person's name. (14-23, 14-44).

qāqma. A person's name. (8-7).

qāXacxi-Ø. 'to feel ticklish' (1-80).

qāXla-Ø. 'to drink' (3-6, 3-31). Cf. qla.

qāXmac. A location---settlement. (3-91, 16-40). Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 9 Vol. 1.

qc. qc-amk-is 'to throw or put something into water' (12-34); qc-amk-cut-Ø 'to jump into water' (9-229); ʔał-qc-Ø 'to take shelter from stormy weather'. *qc-is, *qc-Ø.

qčačāy. ? (18-16, 18-17).

qič. qič-lx-Ø 'to start(from fright)'; qinqič-lx-Ø 'to shudder'; nu-qič-lx-ik-Ø 'to get afraid' (9-132). *qič-is, *qič-Ø.

qīqpī. 'little ones' (1-77, 1-84). Cf. qīqtī.

qīqtī. 'child, baby' (5-6, 9-121, 9-162, 9-164, 9-167, 9-191, 14-38). Cf. qīqpī.

qīXa-0. 'to be happy about something'; qīXn-amk-is 'to rejoice over something' (8-48); qiXqīXast-am-0 'to rejoice' (16-165, 16-230).

qīXlix-is. 'to call someone down; to call someone names' (9-169). *qīX-0.

qīXn. Cf. qīXa. (8-48).

qla. 'water' (1-118, 1-129, 2-122, 3-6, 8-19, 8-23, 8-24, 9-229, 9-231, 12-34, 13-4, 13-8, 16-133, 16-188).

qlam-0. 'to swim'; ʔixix-qlam-tus 'to swim about with something' (13-11). Cf. qla.

q···s. A person's name. (17-64, 17-84, 17-87, 17-96).

qup̓-is. 'to strike(with the fist)' (2-82, 12-57).

quX. 'caw'; quXquX-lit-0 'to go caw-caw' (6-18).

- q̓ -

q̓a. Cf. q̓aw. (1-8, 1-20, 1-29, 1-150).

q̓akūł. A person's name. (17-6, 17-46).

q̓aw-is. 'to put, store away' (1-8, 1-15, 1-17, 1-18, 1-24, 1-32, 1-42, 2-91, 5-69, 12-96, 16-78); q̓a-mut-0 'to bury' (1-8, 1-20, 1-29); q̓aw-ł-is 'to wrap something up' (12-84); q̓aw-ł-ayx-0 'to get wrapped up' (12-83); q̓aw-ł-ta-łp 'funeral clothing, shroud' (12-86); q̓a-uł-ta 'shroud' (1-150); ʔawq̓aw-cut-0 'to pack up' (1-165, 7-52, 11-50, 12-45, 12-47, 12-71, 15-11); ʔał-q̓aw-tus 'to have something stored away' (6-11, 6-16, 16-211, 16-222); nu-q̓aw-īXʷ-m-is 'to tie on a headband' (16-7); nu-q̓aw-īXʷ-ta 'headband' (16-79); s-q̓aw-als 'cedar box packs' (11-52).

q̓ay-0. 'to be poor'; 'to be troubled' (17-121); q̓ay-anm-0 'to become poor' (12-18); q̓ay-uc-m-is 'to badmouth someone' (15-65).

q̓c. 'the noise of cracking, squeaking, breaking, splintering wood, etc.'; q̓c-m-0 'to make a cracking, squeaking noise, e.g. a tree about to fall'; q̓c-m-uc-0 'to make a splintering sound' (16-150).

q̓im-0. 'to be solid, without cracks'; ʔus-q̓im-0 'to be solid on top, covered over solid' (8-23, 8-30, 8-34, 8-35, 8-40, 8-50, 8-51). *q̓i-0, *ʔas-q̓im-0.

q̓is-is. 'to scorch something'; q̓is-uc-is 'to scorch dried fish' (10-56, 10-57, 10-59).

q̓lst. 'steam'; q̓lst-is 'to steam something, to cook something by putting heated rocks into the water'; q̓lst-cut-0 'to take a steambath'; q̓lst-ī-∅ 'to steam' (10-117).

q̓lsxʷ. 'rope' (2-21).

q̓lum-∅. 'to climb' (1-60, 1-169, 9-195, 11-7, 13-18, 13-26, 13-28); lq̓lum-∅ 'to climb repeatedly' (9-79).

q̓ɬkʷ-is. 'to prepare something' (2-124); q̓ɬkʷ-cut-∅ 'to get dressed' (7-50, 10-154, 11-46); q̓ɬkʷ-ta 'clothing' (10-154); s-q̓ɬkʷ 'cloth, clothes' (1-163, 12-83, 16-223), 'belongings' (14-38, 15-3); s-q̓ɬkʷlkʷ-nūlī 'little clothing' (12-85).

q̓m-is. 'to step on something'; ʔix-q̓m-∅ 'to walk' (3-3, 10-11, 10-37, 10-91, 10-183, 10-184, 12-75); ʔixix-q̓m-∅ 'to continue walking' (2-7, 10-7, 10-153, 10-186, 10-244, 10-245, 11-10, 11-55, 12-53).

q̓m-∅. 'to be scorched, burnt black, e.g. toast'; s-q̓m-ɬɬ 'charcoal' (9-110).

q̓s-∅. 'to be extreme' (12-67, 14-49).

q̓umq̓uts. A location---the principal Bella Coola settlement, site of the present village. (16-6, 16-42, 16-207, 16-229, 18-24, 18-25).

q̓up-is. 'to smoke something'; nu-q̓up-is 'to smoke something out' (1-164); nu-s-q̓up-aɬ-ayx-∅ 'to be suffocated' (1-188); s-q̓up 'smoke'; ʔaɬ-q̓up-ɬɬ 'smoked meat'.

q̓usalq. A location---on Kwatna Inlet opposite Restoration Bay. (13-3, 13-16).

q̓uX-is. 'to invite someone'; q̓uX-likʷ-∅ 'to invite everyone' (6-24, 13-20, 13-21); ʔaɬ-q̓uX-∅ 'to be invited' (13-32).

q̓uX. q̓uX-lx-∅ 'to get tired' (2-33, 8-28, 8-29, 8-31, 8-38); q̓ux-lx-liwa-∅ 'to be sort of tired' (3-5). *q̓uX-∅.

- qʷ -

qʷaɬna. Kwatna. (12-4, 12-21, 12-23, 12-96, 13-3, 15-2, 15-10, 15-17, 15-20, 15-29, 15-30, 15-40, 15-59, 15-60).

qʷaXʷ. 'raven' (5-77, 5-78, 5-85, 5-102, 6-15, 6-16, 6-17, 6-26, 11-42, 11-48, 11-49, 11-63, 11-68, 11-70, 11-98, 11-109, 15-56); ʔanu-qʷaXʷ-uc-∅ 'to holler like a raven' (1-107).

qʷaXʷaɬɬ. A person's name. (17-77). Cf. qʷaXʷ, -aɬɬ.

qʷaXʷuXʷani. A person's name. (17-111). Cf. qʷaXʷ.

qʷi. qʷi-nix-is 'to deny something to someone'; qʷi(n)-nimut-∅ 'to deny' (11-15, 17-117, 17-118); ʔanu-s-qʷi-nix-is 'to not believe someone' (1-149, 9-151). Cf. qʷi.

qʷi. qʷi-t-is 'to uncover something'; qʷi-yuc-is 'to open the door' (9-89);

qʷy-uc-is 'to open the door' (3-69); qʷi-yūs-m-Ø 'to show one's face' (2-27, 2-33, 2-39); ʔał-qʷi-Ø 'to be in plain view; to be wide open'. *qʷi-Ø.

qʷilac-Ø. 'to be bruised' (12-81).

qʷił-Ø. 'to rummage about'; qʷił-āX-is 'to clear away brush'; qʷił-āX-uc-ak-is 'to make kindling for someone; to prepare a firesite for someone' (9-211); qʷił-uł-īXʷ-m-Ø 'to search about for something'.

qʷin. Cf. qʷi. 'to deny' (11-15).

qʷit̓-is. 'to pry something out' (3-42, 3-46). Cf. qʷi-t-is.

qʷli-Ø. 'to be blue-green' (7-3); s-qʷli 'area of a slide that has flora on it[turning green in the spring before the surroundings]' (7-3).

qʷlxʷ. qʷlxʷ-cut-Ø 'to gather for oneself' (17-13); qʷlxʷ-cut-m-amk-it 'to gather on someone's behalf' (17-12); qʷlxʷ-m-Ø 'to pile things up for oneself'; qʷlxʷ-uł-is 'to gather something' (1-162, 1-163, 16-54, 16-142); qʷlxʷ-uł-cut-Ø 'to gather, band together' (1-151, 16-35, 16-42).

qʷlXʷ-is. 'to ask someone for help' (8-25, 8-26, 8-42); ʔał-qʷlXʷ-Ø 'to be asked for help; to help' (16-186).

qʷuc̓-is. 'to wash something'; qʷuc̓-īXʷ-is 'to wash someone's head' (16-197, 16-198).

qʷuł-is. 'to write on something' (17-90, 17-91); nu-qʷułqʷł-āk-m-Ø 'to write on one's hands' (10-133, 10-136, 10-144).

qʷy. Cf. qʷi. 'to open' (3-69).

- q̓ʷ -

q̓ʷaca-Ø. 'to shake' (1-77, 1-80).

q̓ʷala-Ø. 'to be no more, all gone' (5-55, 9-177, 9-179, 9-224, 10-206, 10-235, 10-259, 11-94, 13-42, 17-122); q̓ʷala-yāX-tus 'to be made extinct' (15-3).

q̓ʷalayakmis. A person's name. (17-6). Cf. q̓ʷala-Ø.

q̓ʷalm. 'older brother or sister' (7-58, 10-89, 10-99, 10-107, 10-137, 10-193, 10-249, 15-30, 17-64, 17-112).

q̓ʷasta. 'wool' (9-45, 9-68).

q̓ʷay. 'black part of burnt wood'; ʔał-q̓ʷay-us-Ø 'to have one's face blackened' (16-8); s-q̓ʷay 'ashes'; s-q̓ʷay-łł 'ashes(of a body)' (10-136).

q̓ʷlas-Ø. 'to be strange, different' (1-83, 16-89); q̓ʷlas-alst-Ø 'to act strange' (18-18); q̓ʷlas-am-Ø 'to undergo change' (14-20,

14-43); ʔlq̓ʷlas-mx 'Bella Bella people' (15-50, 15-52, 17-105).

q̓ʷmānakʷla(klis). A person's name. (15-29, 15-30, 15-53, 15-58).

q̓ʷp. nu-q̓ʷp-aɬ-is 'to go and meet someone' (9-196); q̓ʷp-aɬ-is 'to go and meet someone'. *q̓ʷp-is.

q̓ʷp. q̓ʷp-m-Ø 'to form a cloud , e.g. of dust behind a car'; q̓ʷp-m-tus 'to scatter something, e.g. sand, dust' (5-52, 5-54, 9-248, 9-250). Cf. q̓up-is.

qʷpuc. 'net' (2-43, 2-45, 2-46, 2-47, 2-51).

q̓ʷpwaɬt. 'wing' (4-18).

q̓ʷXʷ. q̓ʷXʷ-m-Ø 'to move' (9-200, 9-218, 12-89, 16-71, 16-81, 16-82, 16-161, 16-162, 16-173); q̓ʷXʷ-uc-m-Ø 'to change the subject of a conversation' (2-60, 2-108, 7-29, 11-40, 11-41, 17-56).

- s -

s-. Derivation.

-s. Cf. -su. (10-133, 11-40, 11-88). Cf. 10-137.

-s. Cf. -us. (2-97).

s···a. A person's name. (16-106, 16-110, 16-121, 16-134, 16-136, 16-147, 16-156, 16-200, 16-205, 16-212, 16-219, 16-225).

sacqʷla. 'raft' (5-37).

salxak. A person's name. (17-116). calxak ? Cf. cay-Ø 'to stop'.

samnt. 'cement' (1-192).

sasq̓ʷalus-Ø. 'to be good winded, long winded as a runner'; 'to hold one's breath(underwater)' (1-101). Cp. -alus 'chest'.

satix. 'close friend, pal' (1-13, 1-14, 1-25, 1-38, 1-137, 1-141). Cf. smatmx.

saxʷa. 'dipnet' (5-34, 5-36, 5-38).

sʔaymis. 'always' (12-83).

scaɬɬ. A location---the valley lying northward from q̓umq̓uts. (4-20).

scux. scux-m-Ø 'to jump in water(of fish)' (5-31); scuxcux-m-timut-Ø 'to jump in water(of humans)'. *scux-Ø.

sc̓lāXɬɬ. 'board' (16-155). Cf. ɬlāX-is.

si-. Derivation.

sik̓a. sik̓a-m-tus 'to hurt someone; to cause someone to have an accident'; nu-sik̓a-yāX-uɬ-Ø 'to go through(wall, floor) quickly with one shot'; nu-sik̓a-yāq-uɬ-īqʷ-timut-Ø 'to put one's head through something' (16-154); nu-sik̓a-yuc-tus 'to kill someone right off, with one shot' (16-131).

sʔilusayxsta. A location---the body of water from the northern tip of

Vancouver Island to the entrance to the Burke Channel that is unprotected from the open ocean. (17-98). Cf. ˀil-is.

siłmak. 'fishtrap' (2-113, 2-121, 7-37, 7-61, 9-11, 9-36).

siłmāk. Cf. siłmak. (7-37).

sinułk̓mił. A location---on the eastern shore of Kwatna Inlet (15-1). Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 19 Vol. 1.

siq̓. siq̓-ūł-is 'to peel something'; nu-siq̓-m-nāXāX 'fork of a tree branching from the roots' (12-58). *siq̓-Ø, *nu-siq̓-m-Ø.

siq̓ʷiyūs. 'chickadee' (5-12).

sisksum. 'aunt' (7-1).

sissi. 'uncle' (5-5, 5-6, 17-58).

sisyuł. 'serpent with a head on each end' (8-42, 8-44, 8-46).

six. 'blood' (1-124, 1-145, 11-106, 11-110, 16-117).

sīc. 'sheets' (10-51, 10-52).

skłanłł. 'sanitary napkin' (1-161). Cp. kłan 'menses'.

skulukt. 'canoe pole' (5-99, 5-101, 5-102, 5-103).

skusłamank. 'male cousin' (11-106, 11-110).

sk̓ałuclayx. 'eyelash' (9-129).

sk̓inuwas. 'cloud, fog' (2-28, 2-29).

sk̓ma. 'comb' (9-45, 9-60).

sk̓x-Ø. 'to be black' (9-239, 9-242, 12-80).

skʷacta. 'name' (6-27, 7-9, 7-26, 7-70, 8-39, 9-121, 17-78).

skʷactn. Cf. skʷacta. (8-39).

slaX-Ø. 'to be many, numerous' (1-72, 1-150, 2-101, 2-103, 5-4, 5-62, 5-72, 10-5, 11-58, 12-63, 12-70, 13-32, 16-108, 16-182, 16-183, 17-1, 17-63, 17-97, 17-106, 17-115).

slaXlakʷaył. A location---a mountain east of Bella Coola along the Talchako River. (2-65, 2-66, 2-70, 2-92, 2-97).

slāXł. A location---a settlement. (1-170, 1-171, 7-55). McIlwraith (1948: 614 Vol. 2) records: "sla·kł: Whitewater [Atnarko] River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola." Boas (1898: 49), in a list of villages in the Bella Coola valley, has "24. Slā´aXL On the Bella Coola River, above No. 23 [= "Sⁿū´L'ElaL On the Bella Coola River, above No. 22 (= Stuix)"]." In Boas's transcription, an etymological relation between the name and -āXł 'upriver' is apparent. McIlwraith reports (1948: 12 Vol. 1) that Boas's village 24, plus several others, was "not known by several old men questioned on the subject."

slip̓nakt. '(tree) branch' (9-180). Cf. lip̓-is.

sliXʷlikʷ. A person's name. (17-114).

slīXʷ. 'fish(the flesh)' (11-33, 11-35). Cp. sl-is 'to slice'.

slułūs-is. 'to sharpen something' (7-40); ʔał-slułūs-Ø 'to be sharpened'. *słuł-is, *słuł-Ø. Cp. sl-is 'to slice'.

sluq̓. 'grease rendered from fish, esp. the eulachon' (16-214, 16-220).

słimc. 'grandchild' (9-181).

sƛ̓aXt. 'cariboo elk' (8-33); sƛ̓aXƛ̓aX-āł 'cariboo hoofprints' (8-36).

sm-. 'from the very beginning, the start of things' (1-34, 2-92, 5-11, 5-14, 9-120, 9-219, 9-220, 11-104).

sma. sma-łł 'thing created by God' (2-72, 2-101); sma-yus-ta 'origin story' (6-1, 16-91); sma-yūs-m-is 'to tell someone something that happened years ago' (17-59); sm̄sma-Ø 'to tell a story' (2-2, 2-60, 2-72, 2-100, 3-1, 7-1, 8-2, 8-4, 9-1, 9-2, 10-2, 16-1); sm̄sma-yamk-is 'to tell something' (3-98, 11-42, 11-114, 15-62, 15-67); sm̄sma-yūs-is 'to tell someone stories' (7-27, 7-73, 9-243, 10-261, 15-65); sm̄sma-yūs-ī-t-is 'to tell someone stories' (5-104, 7-62). Cf. sm-.

smatix. Cf. smatmx. (6-7, 6-8, 6-15, 6-16, 17-96).

smatmx. 'friend' (8-9, 9-233, 17-12); smatix-m-is 'to befriend someone' (17-96); ʔunu-smatix-m-is 'to go to make friends with someone' (6-7, 6-8, 6-15, 6-16).

smayana. A location---a mountain east of Bella Coola along the Talchako River. (2-67, 2-69). Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 310 Vol. 1.

smiks. 'mussel' (5-83).

smłk. 'fish' (2-111, 2-112, 2-113, 2-122, 5-3, 5-31, 8-55).

smt. 'mountain' (1-46, 1-60, 1-174, 2-65, 2-69, 4-1, 4-2, 4-8, 4-9, 4-24, 4-26, 5-35, 5-99, 5-100, 5-104, 8-24, 9-75, 9-77, 9-78, 10-256, 11-65, 11-89, 13-4); sasmt 'mountains' (15-20); smsmt 'mountains' (8-46); smsm̄t-ī 'little mountain' (7-65, 7-69).

snač̓aymaq̓ʷs. 'long brown seaweed' (16-189).

snāX. 'slave' (16-144, 16-158, 16-188, 16-200, 16-226, 16-234); snaxnāX 'slaves' (16-184); snāX-ay-nix-is 'to take someone as slave' (16-141, 16-212).

sniniq̓. 'a kind of monster' (1-51, 1-57, 1-70, 1-71, 1-81, 1-92, 1-110, 1-122, 1-123, 1-150, 1-167, 1-177, 1-189, 1-195).

sniniq̓ākas. A person's name. (17-111).

snknix. 'food' (17-41). Cf. knix-is.

snucʔalaact. 'midget' (3-92); snucʔalaact-mx 'midget' (3-12, 3-24, 3-39).

snX. 'sun' (9-82, 9-94, 9-105, 9-113, 9-115, 9-127, 9-129, 9-133, 9-137, 9-163, 9-168, 9-195, 9-196, 9-197, 9-198, 9-200, 9-202, 9-203, 9-207, 9-219, 9-235, 9-255).

snXł. A location---a settlement between the village of Bella Coola and Thorsen Creek. (16-39, 18-3). Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 8 Vol. 1. Cf. snX.

spiq̓ʷ. 'ground hog' (7-11, 7-13, 7-16).

spkʷn-Ø. 'to have a meeting' (1-156); spkʷn-cut-aw 'to meet' (1-157).

sps. 'east wind' (5-19, 11-20).

spyu. 'auklet' (10-211).

sp̓-is. 'to strike something, someone' (16-152, 17-88); sp̓-nalus-tus 'to spank' (9-245, 9-247); smp̓-nk-a-Ø 'to hit the bottom(of a tree)' (14-18).

sp̓īXʷnmsta. A location---an island off the northern tip of Vancouver Island, reputed to be a good source of seal. (17-57, 17-62). Cf. sp̓-is.

sqaluc. 'berry' (5-21, 11-48, 11-98).

sqč̓. 'sand' (9-158, 9-159); sqč̓-is 'to throw sand on someone; to bury someone in sand'; sqč̓-ulmx-is 'to put sand on the floor' (9-157); sqč̓-ulmx-ay-nix-is 'to get the ground spread with sand' (9-160); ʔanu-sqč̓-Ø 'to be covered with sand' (13-31); nu-sqč̓-is 'to bury in sand' (11-9, 11-16).

squpłīč̓-Ø. 'to be covered with hair' (1-95). Cp. squp-aq̓ʷs 'eyebrow'.

squsa-Ø. 'to take away leftover food'; squsa-cut-Ø 'to take leftover food with oneself' (6-17); squsa-tus 'to take leftover food for someone'; squsa-łł 'the food taken'.

sq̓-is. 'to cut, scratch something' (1-99, 1-103); sq̓-Ø 'to be scratched'; sq̓-ī-Ø 'to be somewhat scratched' (1-104).

sq̓. sq̓-āX-is 'to prepare(food)'; sq̓-uc-m-Ø 'to start to talk, scream' (16-164); sunq̓-uc-Ø 'to yawn' (16-116); nu-sq̓-āX-m-Ø 'to scream' (15-41); nunu-sq̓-āX-m-aw 'to begin to scream(of a group)' (16-171). *sq̓-Ø.

sq̓atxīXʷak. 'fingernail' (1-196). Cf. sq̓-is 'to scratch'.

sq̓usa. 'knothole' (3-60).

sq̓uXlikʷana. A person's name. (6-22, 6-23, 6-24, 6-28). Cf. q̓uX-is 'to invite someone'.

sqʷč̓īXʷnmsta. A location. (16-195, 16-198). Cf. qʷuč̓-is.

sq̓ʷ-Ø. 'to jump, fly' (1-48, 1-50, 1-129, 3-79, 3-93, 4-8, 4-17, 4-21, 13-6, 16-77, 16-128, 16-153, 16-188); sixsiq̓ʷ-ī-Ø 'to be jumping around' (9-170); ʔu-sq̓ʷ-a-nay-nix-is 'to skip, leave out something' (10-165).

sq̓ʷ-is. 'to untie something'; sq̓ʷ-ūł-im 'the body was untied' (1-76).

sq̓ʷnay. 'knee'; sq̓ʷnay-āX-m-Ø 'to kneel and sit on one's heels'; sq̓ʷnay-āX-ik-ūc-is 'to kneel at the edge of something' (3-8).

sq̓ʷyan. 'knee' (3-23).

s···s. A person's name. (17-70).

s···t. A person's name. (16-85, 16-90, 16-139).

sta-. 'co-' (10-102, 10-141, 10-206, 10-251, 16-90). Cf. stam-.

-sta. Cf. ta-. (5-79, 9-39, 10-36, 12-96, 17-98).

staltmx. 'chief' (13-34, 15-28, 15-29, 16-2, 16-27, 16-36, 16-51, 16-63, 16-104, 16-224, 16-227).

stam. 'what, thing' (1-18, 3-19, 7-72, 9-99, 9-179, 10-118, 10-130, 10-164, 10-181, 10-191, 17-35). Cf. tam-.

stam-. 'co-'; stam-ƛ̓msta 'neighbor' (12-64); stam-Xʷism 'playmate' (9-162, 9-164, 9-165). Cf. sta-.

stan. 'mother' (9-139, 9-143, 9-145, 9-146, 9-158, 9-161, 9-188, 9-189, 9-191, 16-139).

stitq̓. 'leather rope' (10-169, 10-171).

stn. 'log, tree, limb, stick' (1-49, 1-50, 1-51, 1-52, 3-39, 5-57, 9-180, 12-78, 13-26, 14-18, 17-90, 17-91, 17-93); stntn-ī 'bushes' (2-92, 2-93).

-stn. Cf. -ta. (3-88).

stqʷ. 'mud'; stqʷ-īXʷlayx-Ø 'to have muddy knees' (3-23, 3-29).

stuix. Stuie. (5-46, 5-77, 5-83, 5-84, 7-65).

słala. 'hemlock bark(inside)' (5-58, 5-60).

sławłt. 'whetstone' (9-45, 9-75, 9-76).

słaXʷ-Ø. 'to be difficult'; słaXʷ-liwa-Ø 'to be kind of hard to do' (8-3).

słls. 'high-bush cranberry' (3-20).

słuin. 'hide with the fur on ' (10-79).

słxʷm. 'floormat, mattress' (9-21). Cp. łxʷ-is 'to sweep'.

-su. Expectable. Cf. Saunders and Davis 1977.

sucł. sucł-mx 'a person from Kimsquit' (8-52, 17-63, 17-115). Boas (1898: 49) notes: "SōtsL At mouth of Salmon River, Dean Inlet"; sucł, a village name, is now generally unrecognized.

suk̓. suk̓-tim 'to be blown by the wind' (11-21, 11-27, 17-66); suk̓-ta 'sail, cloth'; suk̓-tn-uł 'tent' (17-88); suk̓-tn-uł-m-Ø 'to put up a tent' (17-83); ʔa-suk̓-Ø 'to blow(of the wind)' (17-65); nu-suk̓-cut-Ø 'to blow(of weather)' (11-19). *suk̓-is, *suk̓--t-is.

sulut. 'ocean, salt water' (5-75, 5-76, 5-77, 5-78, 5-80, 5-84, 8-24, 9-71, 14-45, 14-46, 14-51, 14-53, 15-5).

suł. 'house' (1-70, 1-71, 1-74, 1-90, 1-92, 1-146, 1-150, 1-152, 1-153, 1-183, 1-185, 1-191, 3-50, 3-59, 3-70, 3-72, 4-14, 7-33, 7-65, 7-71, 9-15, 9-25, 9-32, 9-33, 9-84, 9-89, 9-98, 9-99, 9-141, 9-158, 9-160, 10-37, 10-38, 10-82, 10-106, 10-166, 10-195, 12-27, 12-29, 12-40, 15-15, 15-35, 15-47, 15-58, 15-60, 16-6, 16-105, 16-135, 17-49).

-suł. 'start, add to'; ʔīXʷ-suł-Ø to put wood on a fire'; ʔīXʷ-suł-tus 'to start a fire someplace' (10-166); ʔīXʷ-sułič̓-ī-t-im 'to have fires built around them' (5-57).

-sułič̓. Cf. -suł. (5-57).

sunxʷ. 'day' (1-15, 1-169, 2-5, 2-20, 9-183, 9-189, 10-101, 10-151, 10-155, 15-4, 16-75, 16-124, 17-82); 'sky' (3-93, 4-11, 5-19, 9-176, 9-216, 9-225, 9-226, 9-237, 9-252, 11-19, 14-17); 'world' (5-2, 5-3, 5-24, 5-74, 7-24, 7-63, 9-2, 9-220, 10-2, 11-3; 'earth' (5-13, 5-15).

supt-Ø. 'to whistle'; ʔanu-suspt-uł-āX-Ø 'to have one's anus, bottom, tail whistle' (12-41, 12-42).

sutk. 'winter' (10-54).

s(u)wak̓x. A location---at Kimsquit. (8-4, 8-6, 8-8).

suxa. 'arm, hand' (2-87, 2-90, 10-79, 10-80, 10-135).

sūXi. 'younger brother or sister' (10-70, 10-71, 10-72, 10-79, 10-85, 10-96, 10-105, 10-106, 10-113, 10-114, 10-247, 10-254, 16-69, 16-130, 16-209).

swalut. 'a person left with a caretaker; a ward'; swalut-ayx-Ø 'to be lonely for something, someone' (9-126); swalut-tus 'to leave, with the intention of returning'. *swalut-is.

sx-Ø. 'to be bad' (1-163, 2-2, 2-3); sx-likt-m-is 'to be angry at something' (9-249); sx-lx-likt-m-Ø 'to be dissatisfied/angry with everything' (3-1, 3-2, 9-3, 9-7, 9-88); sx-lx-likt-m--amk-cut-Ø 'to get mad about something and leave' (9-5).

sxʷƛ̓-Ø. 'to be not enough'; sxʷƛ̓-uł-Ø 'to be short of money'; ʔanu-sxʷƛ̓--liwa-naw 'there wasn't enough of them' (16-107).

sxʷm-Ø. 'to burn' (1-177, 1-186, 4-1, 4-2, 4-24, 9-106, 9-107, 9-225, 9-226, 9-237, 16-57); sxʷm-ta 'gun powder' (16-56, 16-57).

sX-is. 'to scrape off, e.g. a table; to rake off; to bulldoze something'; sX-als-ī-t-is 'to scrape the sides smoothe' (5-60); sX-a-l-X-a-lx-Ø 'to be a mountain slide repeatedly' (8-46); nu-sX-is 'to scrape smoothe; to chase someone' (17-2, 17-16, 17-32, 17-48); nu-sX-a-Ø 'to scrape out, e.g. a hole filled with rubbish'; nu-sX-a-lx-Ø 'to become scraped out, e.g. river in spring is cleared of rubbish'; nu-sX-a-lx-tus 'to get something scraped out; to cause a slide' (8-43, 8-44); nu-sX-lXs-is 'to sharpen the end of something' (3-39).

sXicta. 'bed' (9-139, 10-50). Cf. ʔaXc-Ø.

sXp-is. 'to tie something up'; sXp-alāqt-is 'to tie something up'; sXp-

-alāqt-n-is 'to tie something up' (12-35); sXp-īXʷ-is 'to tie up the top of something' (2-22).

sXuap. ?anu-sXuap-Ø 'to have something pinned' (16-9); nu-sXuap-sta 'safety pin'. *sXuap-Ø.

syut. 'song' (1-31); 'spirit' (2-13, 2-18, 2-25, 2-34, 2-117, 2-122, 18-12, 18-15, 18-23, 18-34).

syut. A location---Loiyentsi Point, popularly called "Ten Mile Point". (16-61).

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-t. Transitivizer. (1-34, 1-46, 1-69, 1-77, 1-80, 1-116, 1-130, 3-60, 3-78, 5-60, 5-61, 7-22, 7-51, 9-57, 9-58, 9-67, 9-74, 9-94, 9-95, 9-105, 9-178, 10-48, 10-59, 10-82, 10-89, 10-256, 11-52, 11-65, 12-10, 12-11, 14-10, 14-11, 14-14, 16-190, 16-200, 16-215, 16-226).

-ta. Instrument. (1-76, 1-78, 2-13, 2-41, 2-42, 2-52, 2-63, 3-88, 3-98, 4-26, 4-27, 5-13, 5-74, 5-79, 6-1, 7-63, 7-75, 8-35, 9-2, 9-39, 10-2, 10-36, 10-61, 10-154, 10-225, 11-3, 11-103, 11-114, 12-49, 12-51, 12-86, 12-96, 13-34, 14-12, 14-13, 14-53, 15-46, 15-55, 16-55, 16-56, 16-57, 16-79, 16-91, 16-104, 16-126, 16-127, 17-25, 17-33, 17-39, 17-83, 17-88, 17-98, 17-110, 17-120).

takʷta. 'doctor' (18-34).

talaws-Ø. 'to be married' (10-248, 10-249, 10-254).

tam-. 'make, build' (2-78, 5-37, 7-37, 7-65, 7-71, 9-11, 9-21, 9-36, 9-173, 9-174, 9-178, 9-182, 16-90); ?aɬ-tam-k̓x-is 'to expect, look forward to something, someone' (12-64).

taqʷs. 'grouse' (10-112, 10-118).

taq̓ʷɬ. 'downstream' (1-133, 9-214, 9-215, 9-221, 9-223, 15-32). Cf. aq̓ʷɬɬ.

tas-is. 'to poke, bump something, someone' (12-53, 12-54, 12-56); tas-ik-ūc-is 'to poke along the edge' (3-41).

tati. Cf. tay. 'to throw' (1-186).

tay-is. 'to throw to someone'; tay-amk-is 'to throw something' (9-49, 9-57, 9-59, 9-68, 9-74, 9-76, 10-171, 12-15); tay-īXʷ-is 'to throw at someone's head' (14-34); tay-īXʷ-ay-nix-is 'to manage to throw something at someone's head' (14-37); tat-īXʷ-tis 'to throw at more than one person's head' (17-109); nu-tati-als-is 'to throw something inside' (1-186); nu-tay-ūc-is 'to throw food to someone' (12-26); ?anu-tay-amk-ūc-m-is 'to throw from mouth to mouth' (13-42).

tay-is. 'to pound something'; tay-t-is 'to pound something' (5-51).

ti-Ø. 'to be secure, e.g. a lid on a jar'; ti-tus 'to put away safely' (10-79, 10-80); ti-lqs-aɬ-ī-Ø 'to have the nails left on' (1-196); titi-lqs-aɬ-ī-tus 'to save the claws/nails' (1-194); ti-lx-Ø 'to get stuck, caught on something; to stop off on a journey' (2-28); ti-lx-uɬ-Ø 'to get stuck, stop' (2-27, 2-29, 2-33, 9-180, 9-197).

tiltilit. The sound an eagle makes. (15-41). Cf. Boas 1898: 72.

-timut. Causative Reflexive. (1-2, 1-14, 1-117, 1-122, 1-137, 1-149, 1-177, 2-2, 2-15, 3-1, 3-96, 5-2, 5-96, 6-1, 6-20, 7-42, 7-60, 7-65, 7-70, 8-2, 8-18, 9-1, 9-4, 9-9, 9-26, 9-27, 9-30, 9-35, 9-55, 9-128, 9-147, 9-163, 9-188, 9-212, 10-96, 10-113, 10-123, 10-139, 10-152, 10-186, 10-202, 10-204, 10-227, 10-234, 11-2, 11-26, 11-89, 11-111, 12-14, 12-23, 12-42, 13-25, 14-31, 15-12, 15-13, 15-20, 16-154, 16-159, 16-191, 17-84, 17-85).

titi. Cf. ti. (1-194).

tix-Ø. 'to be he, it' (1-143, 1-167, 2-12, 2-33, 2-68, 2-87, 3-12, 3-29, 3-30, 3-34, 3-43, 3-94, 4-23, 5-102, 6-15, 7-58, 7-66, 8-46, 9-111, 9-163, 9-168, 9-254, 9-255, 10-174, 11-22, 12-3, 12-74, 13-34, 13-40, 13-51, 14-1, 15-29, 15-41, 15-53, 15-54, 17-73, 17-94, 17-103, 17-107, 17-113, 18-5, 18-12, 18-32, 18-34).

tix-. 'bring back' (16-182, 16-183); tix-ˀaɬ-ay-ak-m-is 'to have got him' (15-31, 17-10, 17-46); tix-nu-ɬnūs-m-tis 'to have got two'; tix-nu-maw-m-is 'to have got one' (17-8). Cf. tx-.

tīXʷ. tīXʷ-m-Ø 'to pound poles' (9-35); tixtīXʷ-m-Ø 'to be pounding poles' (9-8, 9-10, 9-19); ˀaɬ-tīXʷ 'eulachon net'. Cf. tay-is 'to pound' and ti-Ø.

tka-Ø. 'to shoot'; tka-t-is 'to shoot something' (12-10, 12-11, 14-10, 14-11, 14-14); tkaka-tis 'to shoot more than one' (16-180); tkaka-ya-Ø 'to be shooting' (17-86); tka-ta 'gun' (14-12, 14-13, 16-55, 16-126); tka-ˀayx-Ø 'to get shot' (16-79), tka-yayx-Ø 'to get shot' (16-130); tka-yay-nix-is 'to get a shot at something' (13-7, 17-87); tka-nalus-tus 'to try to shoot' (16-78, 16-175); tka-nalus-lx-tus 'to try and shoot' (16-160); ˀas-tka-tn-ak-Ø 'to have a gun in one's hand, be holding a gun' (16-127); nu-tka-yuɬ-ūc-layx-is 'to shoot something before someone else does' (12-15).

tk̓ak̓. nu-tk̓a-m-āX-Ø 'to fall backward(of one person)'; nu-tk̓ak̓-m-āX-aw 'to fall over backward(of more than one)' (1-109, 1-110). *tk̓a-Ø, *tk̓a-m-Ø, *nu-tk̓a-m-Ø.

tk̓iɫ-Ø. 'to be on this side'; tk̓iɫ-āX ʔal-a-anuXʷum-ac 'this side of the river'; tk̓iɫ-āX-uc-Ø 'to be on this(river, lake)' (17-2).

tlpl. 'trouble' (17-119).

tɫ-Ø. 'to be strong'; tɫ-lx-timut-Ø 'to make oneself strong'; tɫ-lx-uɫ-timut-Ø 'to walk faster' (9-9, 10-186); tɫ-uɫ-Ø 'all of a sudden; to go fast, e.g. a car' (9-125); nu-tɫ-lɫ-lqs-m-ī-tus 'to make someone's breathing stronger' (11-30).

tm-. 'just, only' (1-2, 1-122, 1-132, 1-191, 2-80, 2-81, 2-96, 2-100, 5-28, 8-29, 8-35, 10-149, 11-6, 11-114, 12-20, 12-54, 12-56, 12-73, 12-84, 12-85, 13-50, 14-13, 14-53, 15-2, 15-25, 15-61, 16-72, 17-11, 17-75, 17-122, 18-3) ; tm-ʔay-ūc-timut-Ø 'to just try and tell' (1-2, 5-2, 8-2, 9-1); tm-ʔalac̓ī-Ø 'to just tell' (1-3, 4-29).

-tmaxʷ. Reciprocal. (1-23, 3-85, 7-56, 7-57, 9-195, 10-12, 10-254, 10-257, 10-258, 15-49, 16-19).

tmp-is. 'to put something into one's mouth'; tmp-ayx-Ø 'to get caught'; tmp-nalus-Ø 'to be caught in a crevice, a tight place'; tmp-nalus-ayx-Ø 'to get caught in a tight place' (12-59, 12-79).

-tn. Cf. -ta. (5-74, 7-63, 8-35, 9-2, 10-2, 11-3, 15-46, 16-55, 16-104, 16-127, 17-83, 17-88, 17-110, 17-120).

tnksta. 'ear' (10-21).

tpi. 'one of a pair, the opposed one'; tpi-āX-am-Ø 'to go over that way' (4-14); tpi-āX-uc-Ø 'to be opposite, on the other side' (10-187); tpi-āX-uc-am-Ø 'to go over to the other side, e.g. a river' (1-121, 10-172); tpi-āX-uc-anm-Ø 'to get across to the other side' (10-182); tpi-lXs 'the other end' (10-254, 10-257); tpy-us-ɫɫ 'the other half' (12-34, 12-37).

tpik-is. 'to put onto a frame to stretch something, e.g. a skin' (10-81, 10-83, 10-84); ʔaɫ-tpik-Ø 'to be stretched out on a frame' (10-85); tpik-ta 'frame for drying skins'. *tp-is. Cp. tp-ūɫ-is 'to put spots, polka dots on something.

tplq̓-is. 'to turn something inside out'; ʔaɫ-tplq̓-Ø 'to be inside out'; ʔaɫ-tplq̓-ak-Ø 'to have something around one's hand, paw' (13-35, 13-40). Cf. tXlq̓.

tpy. Cf. tpi. (12-34, 12-37).

tqnk-Ø. 'to be underneath'; tqnk-us 'bottom' (1-49, 1-51); tqnk-us-aɫ-Ø 'to go underneath' (8-24). Cf. ʔūXnk-Ø. Cp. qnk 'down there'.

tq̓-Ø. 'to land and tie up(boat)' (16-73, 17-68); tq̓-āX-am-Ø 'to become bushy' (9-60, 9-62); tq̓-ayx-Ø 'to land' (17-45); s-tq̓ 'thing added'; s-tq̓-āX-Ø 'to be full of brush'; s-tq̓-āX-uc-is 'to make something larger, wider, e.g. porch, door'; s-tq̓-āX-uc-ak-is 'to extend something'; s-tq̓-āX-uc-ak-m-Ø 'to enlarge something for oneself' (9-214, 9-221, 9-223).

tq̓ła. 'knife' (2-86, 2-88, 2-99, 16-110, 16-148, 16-150); ʔas-tq̓łn-lXs-an-ił-Ø 'to have a knife on one's hip' (2-85).

tq̓łn. Cf. tq̓ła. (2-85).

tqʷnƛ̓. 'toward the speaker; this way, thither' (1-115, 1-134, 6-16, 7-32, 7-39, 7-42, 14-42, 14-47, 14-52, 16-194, 16-199, 16-206, 17-19).

tq̓ʷ-Ø. 'to dig up'; tq̓ʷ-m-Ø 'to dig roots' (10-110); ʔał-tq̓ʷ-Ø 'to be dug up' (10-117).

-tu. Confirmative.

tuin-Ø. 'to be perceived; to show' (1-124, 1-145, 3-72, 5-41, 9-238); tuin-m-Ø 'to show up' (1-33, 5-11, 9-102); tuin-m-timut-Ø 'to come out of hiding' (10-96); nu-twi-lnqs-ik-Ø 'to have the tip of one's tail showing' (9-240); nu-tuin-m-uc-Ø 'to be heard to make a noise' (10-199, 16-112).

tulu-Ø. 'to succeed, complete' (16-120); tulu-amk-is 'to succeed in doing something; to complete something' (8-12); tulu-amk-cut-Ø 'to succeed in doing something' (9-51).

tuxʷa. 'here' (18-5). Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976.

-tū. Non-Contrastive Conjunctive Particle.

twin. Cf. tuin. (9-240, 16-112).

tx-is. 'to cut something' (3-50, 16-110, 16-116, 16-143, 16-156); tx-alus-tus 'to cut into pieces' (3-47, 3-49, 10-148, 10-149); tx-a-x-psm-tis 'to cut throats' (16-134) [Redp. of tx-apsm-is]; tx-ik-is 'to cut in half' (2-88).

tx. 'he, him, it'. Cf. APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.

tx-. 'have' (1-149, 2-34); 'before, from' (7-51, 9-49, 9-194, 10-49, 16-93, 17-12, 17-86). Cf. tix- 'bring back'.

txu-. Cf. txuł-. (11-66).

txuł-. 'further on(away from the speaker), toward; txuł-ʔalaktm-Ø 'to not know what to do; to go and do the wrong thing' (11-48); txuł-(ʔał)-aylikt-Ø 'to be as/so long' (1-53, 1-60, 1-67, 1-101, 10-106, 16-117); txuł-ʔāXł-ał-Ø 'to go further up the river' (15-17); txuł-c 'further on' (4-25, 13-3, 16-81); txu-ƛ̓uk̓-Ø 'to go further up' (11-66).

txuxlaƛ̓sūs. A location---near Namu. (14-24, 14-25).

txʷ. 'inside' (1-90, 1-147, 2-44, 2-96, 3-17, 3-18, 3-32, 3-59, 9-15, 9-88, 9-96, 9-98, 9-99, 9-104, 9-158, 10-38, 10-116, 10-150, 10-195, 11-11, 11-12, 12-33, 12-38, 15-47, 16-119, 16-123, 16-125, 17-49). *txʷ-Ø.

-txʷ. Causative. (2-55, 8-55).

txʷa. Cf. txʷ. 'inside' (1-147).

tX. 'he, him, it' Cf. APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.

tX-. 'from' (3-90, 6-21, 8-50, 11-75, 16-12, 17-33, 17-56); tX-āXł-ał-Ø 'to come from upriver' (16-14, 16-15); tX-āXł-1qs-Ø 'to be upriver from the end' (16-5).

tXaq̓ʷł. 'north' (15-33, 15-51). Cf. taq̓ʷł.

tXaq̓ʷłł. 'person from the north' (17-69, 17-85, 17-89, 17-94, 17-96, 17-117).

tXaXāXłł. 'person from the south' (16-83, 16-180, 16-221, 17-15, 17-17, 17-45). Cf. āXłł.

tXāXłik. A location---at Kimsquit, above the canyon at the mouth of the Dean River. (8-50).

tX1q̓. tX1q̓-ank-Ø 'to be on the other side' (4-25); tX1q̓-ank-m-Ø 'to move to the other side'. *tX1q̓-Ø. Cf. tp1q̓-is and X1q̓-is.

tXuq̓-Ø. 'to go downstream(by any means); downstream' (12-5). Cf. ʔuq̓ʷ-Ø.

tXʷ. 'they, them; it; then; there'. Cf. APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.

-tXʷ. 'distant'; ʔał-ʔawł-tXʷ-ank-is 'to follow along side someone at a distance' (12-22, 12-27); ʔawł-tXʷ-uc-m-is 'to shout after someone' (11-96).

tXʷna. tXʷna-yāX-Ø 'to be across over there' (4-19); tXʷna-yāX-uc-Ø 'to be on the other side'.

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łatut. 'these things' (3-84). Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976.

ław. Cf. ławt. (2-68, 9-39, 10-114).

ławt. 'here' (2-6, 2-52, 5-45, 17-53); ław-tx 'this' (2-68, 10-114); ław--tX 'this' (9-39). Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976.

łaX. 'that one'. Cf. APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.

łaXʷ. 'those ones; then; there'. Cf. APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.

łayx. 'this one'. Cf. APPENDIX-PARADIGMS.

łc-is. 'to break up something, e.g. ice or rock; to strike a sharp blow with one's knuckle'; ʔał-łc-ał-m-ik-is 'to pound on top with one's feet' (8-34); ʔał-łc-ik-is 'to rap on a table with one's knuckle'.

łcūł-is. 'to set something on fire' (1-185, 10-167).

łksn-is. 'to shoot something with an arrow' (10-73); łksnsn-a-Ø 'to shoot repeatedly" (9-176); nu-łksnsn-āk-is 'to shoot someone's hands repeatedly' (10-145).

łksnimta. 'arrow' (9-173, 9-175, 9-177, 9-178, 9-179, 9-182, 9-184). Cf. łksn-is.

łkʷ-Ø. 'to bleed' (1-125, 11-100).

łmīXʷ. 'stump' (9-30, 9-31, 9-51, 9-54, 9-63, 9-72, 9-78, 9-103, 9-106, 9-108, 9-110, 9-111, 9-112).

łnXʷ. 'head' (16-196, 16-210).

łq-is. 'to paste something' (5-64); łq-a-Ø 'to paste'; łq-a-lx-Ø 'to get stuck on something' (7-61); łq-m-Ø 'to make berry patties' (17-13); łq-m-ał-Ø 'to step on something sticky' (10-7, 10-9); ˀał-łq-Ø 'to be pasted(one thing); a berry patty' (5-64); ˀał-łq-ī-Ø 'to be pasted(many small things)' (9-99).

łupiłc. 'water louse' (10-215, 10-230, 10-235, 10-243, 10-259).

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u-. Cf. ˀus-. (1-171, 1-174).

ˀu-. Cf. ˀus-. (1-61, 1-70, 10-165, 11-89, 11-91, 17-19).

-uc. 'mouth' (1-2, 1-31, 1-39, 1-56, 1-81, 1-82, 1-107, 1-142, 1-144, 1-154, 1-170, 2-2, 2-10, 2-25, 2-52, 2-55, 2-60, 2-108, 2-122, 2-126, 3-1, 3-11, 3-15, 3-25, 3-28, 3-31, 3-34, 3-50, 3-64, 3-71, 3-72, 3-82, 3-85, 3-91, 3-92, 3-97, 3-98, 3-99, 4-28, 5-7, 5-10, 5-12, 5-18, 5-21, 5-41, 5-60, 5-68, 5-71, 5-74, 6-1, 7-1, 7-2, 7-16, 7-29, 7-33, 7-62, 7-73, 7-74, 8-2, 8-13, 8-55, 9-1, 9-18, 9-58, 9-102, 9-147, 9-153, 9-157, 9-165, 9-168, 9-178, 10-56, 10-57, 10-59, 10-62, 10-63, 10-79, 10-114, 10-119, 10-121, 10-126, 10-128, 10-132, 10-185, 10-186, 10-188, 10-191, 10-199, 10-206, 10-231, 10-235, 10-259, 11-2, 11-7, 11-40, 11-41, 11-58, 11-71, 11-76, 11-80, 11-81, 11-82, 11-85, 11-88, 11-92, 11-94, 11-96, 11-108, 11-114, 12-2, 12-15, 12-16, 12-19, 12-26, 12-46, 13-42, 13-51, 13-52, 14-18, 14-23, 14-24, 15-2, 15-6, 15-16, 15-26, 15-46, 15-65, 15-66, 16-112, 16-164, 17-4, 17-31, 17-37, 17-56, 17-66, 17-73, 17-74, 17-89, 17-102, 17-107, 17-109, 17-110, 17-120, 18-5, 18-16, 18-30, 18-38); 'opening' (16-4, 16-27, 16-46); 'edge' (1-41, 1-45, 1-74, 1-76, 1-121, 3-8, 3-41, 3-69, 4-8, 4-18, 7-75, 9-6, 9-40, 9-43, 9-72, 9-89, 9-91, 9-211, 9-214, 9-215, 9-216, 9-217, 9-219, 9-221, 9-222, 9-223, 10-164, 10-172, 10-175, 10-176, 10-182, 10-187, 11-9, 11-16, 11-28, 12-7, 12-14, 12-24, 12-73, 13-12, 13-14, 13-15, 15-35, 15-50, 15-52, 15-61, 16-13, 16-42, 16-46, 16-72, 16-76, 16-77, 16-122, 16-131, 16-150, 17-2, 17-81).

uč̓aluł. Cf. ʔuč̓aluł. (5-35, 7-65, 17-94).

ʔuč̓aluł-Ø. ‘to be on top’ (5-35, 7-65, 17-94); ʔuč̓aluł-am-Ø ‘to go on top’; ʔuč̓aluł-am-tus ‘to put something on top’ (5-53). Cf. -aluł.

uč̓ik. Cf. ʔuč̓ik. (7-69, 8-35).

ʔuč̓ik-Ø. ‘to be on top’ (2-5, 7-69, 8-35). Cf. -ik.

-uks. Plural. (1-39, 1-136, 1-143, 2-62, 3-44, 3-54, 3-59, 3-73, 4-14, 5-27, 10-86, 11-4, 11-52, 11-60, 12-89, 12-91, 12-93, 13-30, 15-49, 16-44, 16-54, 16-55, 16-59, 16-105, 16-135, 16-143, 16-158, 17-13, 17-41).

uk̓uk̓. Cf. ʔuk̓uk̓. (10-58).

ʔuk̓uk̓. ‘skunk cabbage’ (10-58, 10-59).

ul-. Cf. ʔuł-.

ʔul-. Cf. ʔuł-.

-ʔul. ʔał-ʔal-a-cixʷ-ʔul-ks ‘What is it like’ (10-14). Cf. -l.

ʔulix-is. ‘to choose something’; ʔulix-a-Ø ‘to choose’ (10-209).

-ulmx. ‘earth, floor’ (1-33, 1-115, 2-6, 2-18, 2-33, 2-38, 2-52, 2-54, 2-101, 5-45, 8-18, 9-129, 9-157, 9-160, 9-227, 10-119, 12-62, 12-63, 16-94, 16-228, 17-1, 17-53).

ʔulX-Ø. ‘to act in an irrational, foolish way’; ʔulX-anm-Ø ‘to faint’ (1-179, 18-11); ʔulʔulX-uc-timut-Ø ‘to speak teasingly’ (9-147).

uł-. Cf. ʔuł-.

ʔuł-. Preposition. ‘to, toward, into, for’. Cf. -uł ‘direction’.

-uł. ‘round’ (1-77, 1-78, 1-80, 2-38, 2-40, 9-238, 9-239, 10-17, 10-21, 10-256, 17-80, 17-81); ‘around’ (16-154); ‘body’ (1-76, 2-27, 2-29, 2-33, 2-82, 2-91, 9-94, 9-95, 9-105, 9-180, 9-197, 9-233, 9-234, 10-36, 10-48, 10-95, 12-83, 12-84, 12-86, 17-4); ‘building’ (16-6, 17-49, 17-85, 17-88).

-uł. ‘direction’ (3-19, 10-15, 10-31, 10-114, 10-118, 10-171, 10-173, 10-181, 10-191, 10-248, 10-251, 11-12, 11-14, 12-15, 12-57, 14-1, 15-43, 18-3, 18-30); ‘distributed’ (2-70, 2-75, 9-166, 9-167, 10-22, 10-230, 12-15, 12-41, 12-42, 17-88); ʔay-uł-tus ‘to throw in a direction’ (18-22); ʔał-ʔay-uł-ūs-Ø ‘to face in a direction’ (9-141); ʔał-k̓ʷnus-uł-ūs-ak-is ‘to show someone where to aim’ (10-72); qʷlxʷ-uł-is ‘to gather up’ (1-162, 1-163, 16-54, 16-142); qʷlxʷ-uł-cut-Ø ‘to gather together' (1-151, 16-35, 16-42); tɬ-uɬ-Ø 'to be all of a sudden' (9-125); tɬ-lx-uɬ-timut-Ø 'to walk faster' (9-9, 10-186).

ʔuɬa-Ø. 'to approach, go up to' (1-34, 11-104). Cf. ʔuɬ-.

ʔuɬalXs-tus. 'to blame someone'; ʔus-ʔuɬalXs-tus 'to blame someone' (17-72). *ʔuɬalXs-Ø.

-uɬank. 'abdomen' (11-98, 11-99, 11-100, 15-3).

ʔum-Ø. 'to get out(of a conveyance)' (10-237, 11-64, 12-50, 12-51, 16-196).

umat. Cf. ʔumat. (1-13, 1-18, 10-153, 10-159, 10-162, 11-84, 12-58, 15-18, 16-89, 17-19, 17-56, 17-69, 17-93).

ʔumat-Ø. 'to get to' (1-13, 1-18, 1-132, 2-4, 2-24, 2-40, 2-96, 3-4, 3-5, 3-10, 3-13, 4-20, 5-41, 5-66, 7-15, 9-196, 10-153, 10-159, 10-162, 11-5, 11-84, 12-6, 12-58, 12-63, 14-6, 14-47, 15-18, 16-89, 16-166, 16-168, 17-19, 17-60, 17-69, 17-93, 17-101); k̓iɬ-tX-umat-tus 'to kidnap someone; to take and hide someone' (17-56).

un. Cf. ʔun. (18-26).

ʔun. nu-ʔun-is 'to check, test something'; nu-ʔun-āk-m-Ø 'to learn by doing; to practice' (16-76); nu-ʔun-cut-Ø 'to test oneself; to practice' (18-26). *ʔun-is.

ʔun-. ʔun-ay-ūɬ-Ø 'to grow bigger(from being wrapped around)' (2-75); ʔunʔun-ƛ̓mstn-am-tus 'to make someone into a true person' (7-12); ʔaXʷ ʔun-ƛ̓mstn-am-nix-is 'to not manage to make someone become a true person' (7-20).

unikʷ. Cf. ʔunikʷ. (17-12, 17-98).

ʔunikʷ-Ø. 'to be away from land; the direction away from land' (7-45, 12-7, 12-23, 12-89, 13-25, 14-8, 17-12, 17-92, 17-98).

uniqʷakɬ. A person's name. (7-48).

unu-. Cf. ʔunus-. (6-15).

ʔunu-. Cf. ʔunus-. (6-7, 6-8, 6-16).

ʔunus-. 'go in order to' (6-7, 6-8, 6-15, 6-16); ʔunus-sl̓Xʷ-m-Ø 'to go for fish' (11-33).

ʔuq̓ūni. 'throat' (1-94).

uq̓X. Cf. ʔuq̓X. (10-85).

ʔuq̓X-is. 'to call someone' (9-44, 10-70, 10-71, 10-85, 11-43, 11-44, 17-21, 17-39); ʔix-uq̓X-cant 'each one calls to me' (8-52); ʔuXuq̓X-is 'to call someone repeatedly' (11-27, 11-54).

uq̓ʷ. Cf. ʔuq̓ʷ. (5-94).

ʔuq̓ʷ-Ø. 'to drift on a current' (5-94, 5-96).

us-. Cf. ʔus-. (1-178, 3-17, 3-32, 3-59, 3-89, 8-34, 8-35, 8-40, 9-15, 9-19, 9-96, 9-104, 9-158, 10-75, 10-195, 11-11, 12-85, 15-47, 16-123, 16-125, 17-49, 18-21, 18-34).

ʔus-. Direction. (1-61, 1-70, 1-135, 1-147, 1-171, 1-174, 1-178, 2-96, 3-17, 3-18, 3-32, 3-59, 3-89, 4-11, 6-11, 7-60, 8-23, 8-30, 8-34, 8-35, 8-40, 8-50, 8-51, 9-15, 9-19, 9-88, 9-96, 9-98, 9-104, 9-144, 9-158, 10-38, 10-75, 10-76, 10-116, 10-165, 10-195, 10-205, 10-240, 11-11, 11-89, 11-91, 12-33, 12-85, 15-47, 15-55, 16-119, 16-123, 16-125, 17-19, 17-49, 17-72, 18-21, 18-34).

-us. 'flat surface' (1-51, 1-52, 1-53, 1-169, 1-191, 5-41, 9-184, 10-171, 10-173, 12-7, 12-8, 12-34, 12-37, 12-74, 13-4, 16-66, 16-67, 16-189, 16-191, 17-12, 17-93); 'front' (1-176, 2-65, 5-79, 5-80, 5-104, 6-1, 7-27, 7-62, 7-73, 8-24, 9-45, 9-85, 9-238, 9-239, 9-243, 10-65, 10-72, 10-261, 14-47, 15-65, 16-11, 16-16, 16-30, 16-91, 16-174, 17-59, 17-98, 18-16, 18-19, 18-29); 'face' (1-137, 1-167, 2-27, 2-33, 2-39, 2-93, 2-97, 3-7, 3-30, 3-35, 3-61, 9-141, 9-195, 10-72, 10-211, 10-236, 14-19, 14-35, 16-8, 16-127, 16-128, 17-90).

usikāX. Cf. ʔusikāX. (15-12, 15-15, 16-36, 17-85).

ʔusikāX. ʔusikāX-am-Ø 'to go into the forest' (16-19, 16-36); ʔusikāX-am-ayx-Ø 'to get into the forest' (15-15); ʔusikāX-am-timut-Ø 'to escape into the forest' (11-89, 15-12, 15-13, 17-84, 17-85). Cf. ʔasikāX.

ʔusilan-is. 'to pass over something, someone' (3-91, 4-10, 4-14). Cf. ʔil-is.

ʔusmix. ʔusmix-ak-timut-Ø 'to let go' (3-96). *ʔusmix-Ø.

- ū -

-ūc. Cf. -uc. (1-2, 1-39, 2-2, 3-1, 3-8, 3-41, 3-70, 5-2, 6-1, 7-75, 9-1, 9-20, 9-40, 9-43, 9-72, 11-2, 11-76, 12-7, 12-14, 12-24, 12-26, 12-73, 13-12, 13-14, 13-15, 13-42, 15-2, 15-6, 15-50, 15-52, 15-61, 16-13, 16-42, 16-72, 16-76, 16-77, 17-81).

ʔūl-. Cf. ʔuł-.

ʔūlX-is. 'to steal something'; ʔūlX-ay-nix-is 'to manage to steal something; to seduce someone' (10-27).

ūł-. Cf. ʔuł-.

ʔūł-. Cf. ʔuł-.

-ūł. Cf. -uł. 'round' (1-76, 1-77, 2-75, 9-94, 9-95, 9-105, 9-233, 9-234, 10-36, 10-48, 10-95, 10-256, 16-6).

-ūł. Cf. -uł. 'direction' (3-19, 9-125, 10-118, 11-14).

-ūłikałł. 'throat' (3-63). Cf. -ałł.

-ūs. Cf. -us. (1-137, 2-93, 5-41, 5-80, 9-141, 9-195, 9-238, 9-239, 10-65, 10-72, 10-171, 10-173, 16-128).

ūXnk. Cf. ˀūXnk. (17-33).

ˀūXnk-Ø. 'to go downward; downward' (2-18, 8-18, 9-137, 11-75, 17-33). Cf. tqnk-Ø. Cp. qnk 'down there'.

- w -

wa-Ø. 'to be who' (15-53).

-wa. Cf. -a. Question. (10-32, 16-139).

wal-is. 'to leave something, someone' (1-87, 9-23, 9-148, 9-189, 9-190, 10-180, 10-201, 12-61, 15-47, 16-33, 17-105).

walc. walc-tum 'what was he named?' (17-95). *walc-tus, *walc-Ø. Cf. wa-Ø. Cp. wa-l-s-ck 'I wonder who that is'.

wanukʷ. Rivers Inlet. (17-2, 17-19, 17-20, 17-92).

wauslx-Ø. 'to be anxious, impatient, excited' (5-40). *waus-Ø.

waXʷas. A location---on Kwatna Inlet. (12-27, 12-28). Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 20 Vol. 1.

way. 'OK, all right, well' (1-1, 1-12, 1-21, 1-25, 1-28, 1-29, 1-64, 1-65, 1-68, 1-75, 1-81, 1-83, 1-86, 1-102, 1-126, 1-135, 1-151, 1-172, 1-193, 1-194, 2-1, 2-14, 2-51, 2-52, 2-55, 2-57, 2-59, 2-104, 2-106, 2-107, 3-37, 3-64, 3-76, 3-82, 3-86, 3-100, 4-1, 4-28, 4-30, 5-1, 6-1, 6-19, 7-28, 7-73, 8-1, 8-19, 8-21, 9-1, 9-38, 9-48, 9-61, 9-111, 9-113, 9-118, 9-156, 9-187, 9-209, 9-210, 9-253, 9-256, 10-1, 10-8, 10-14, 10-18, 10-23, 10-26, 10-27, 10-35, 10-68, 10-81, 10-102, 10-122, 10-138, 10-160, 10-199, 10-202, 10-207, 10-216, 10-219, 10-239, 10-245, 10-260, 10-261, 10-262, 11-1, 11-7, 11-18, 11-37, 11-39, 11-48, 11-52, 11-60, 11-65, 11-78, 11-83, 11-88, 11-92, 11-113, 11-114, 11-115, 12-1, 12-24, 12-39, 12-53, 12-97, 13-1, 13-2, 13-14, 13-19, 13-22, 13-51, 13-53, 14-1, 14-17, 14-22, 14-53, 14-54, 15-1, 15-50, 15-68, 16-1, 16-50, 16-53, 16-103, 16-104, 16-114, 16-117, 16-170, 16-177, 16-225, 17-109, 17-123, 18-1, 18-20).

wayx-Ø. 'to be a span of time' (1-68, 2-51, 2-61, 3-27, 4-23, 6-11, 8-3, 9-53, 10-96, 12-65, 13-10, 14-27, 16-148, 17-36); wayx-łł-Ø 'to be fresh, new' (9-158).

-wayx. Cf. -ayx. (9-228).

wi. Cf. wix. (1-6).

wik̓-is. 'to work something loose'; wik̓-cut-Ø 'to work oneself loose' (2-30, 2-31).

wik̓inXʷ. A person from Rivers Inlet(wanukʷ). (17-23).

win. Cf. wina. (16-178).

wina-Ø. 'to invade' (3-71, 16-1, 16-2, 16-52, 16-89, 16-178); 'warrior' (3-58, 3-61, 11-73, 11-82, 11-86, 11-113, 15-15, 15-16, 15-22, 15-25, 15-26, 16-9, 16-76, 16-84, 16-94, 16-137, 16-204).

winXƛ̓a. winXƛ̓a-t-is 'to aid (a) neighboring village(s)' (17-30, 17-31). Cf. McIlwraith 1948: 627 Vol. 2.

wit-Ø. 'to wait' (15-11).

wix-Ø. 'to be they' (2-21, 2-28, 2-34, 2-46, 2-47, 2-100, 2-125, 4-12, 5-92, 6-26, 9-129, 9-130, 9-230, 11-68, 11-93, 16-108); 'to be it' (1-100, 1-149, 2-41, 2-52, 3-44, 3-60, 3-91, 3-97, 5-55, 5-83, 5-84, 6-25, 6-27, 7-59, 7-70, 8-36, 8-37, 8-39, 9-112, 9-239, 9-242, 9-249, 10-58, 10-241, 10-251, 11-92, 12-36, 12-63, 16-57); 'to be a time(then, now)' (1-27, 1-47, 1-56, 1-66, 1-79, 1-88, 1-176, 1-194, 2-30, 2-33, 3-33, 3-82, 5-71, 5-99, 7-65, 8-19, 8-25, 8-35, 8-43, 9-20, 9-33, 9-66, 9-75, 9-94, 9-102, 9-104, 9-109, 9-197, 9-225, 9-238, 10-28, 10-133, 10-230, 11-18, 12-14, 13-19, 13-36, 13-43, 14-17, 14-53, 15-28, 16-101, 16-164, 18-21, 18-23); 'to be a location(there, here)' (1-6, 2-40, 5-75, 5-80, 9-127, 11-56, 13-4, 17-102); tx-ał-wix-łł-ak-Ø 'to do something from there' (17-86); tx-ał-wix-łł-ūc-Ø 'to shout from there'. Cf. wixłł-. Cp. tx-ał-nuXalk-łł-Ø 'to be from Bella Coola'.

wixłł-. Preposition. 'from'. Cf. wix-Ø.

wiyaqaʔay. A person's name. (7-29, 7-30, 7-31, 7-58, 7-60).

wnč̓-is. 'to kill something, someone' (3-46, 3-48, 3-68, 12-77, 13-25, 15-23, 16-181, 17-73, 17-85, 17-118).

- x -

x-. Preposition. 'with, about, via, with respect to'.

x-. Cf. xł-. (5-34, 7-16, 7-61, 16-183, 16-208).

-x. Cf. -lx. (3-44, 5-59).

xap̓-Ø. 'to become safe; to get away' (14-48).

xixnas. Cf. xnas. (10-2, 10-6, 10-7, 17-76).

xli. 'penis' (9-238).

xlx. A person's name. (11-67, 11-93).

xł-. 'to have' (5-34, 5-49, 5-50, 6-29, 7-16, 7-61, 9-123, 10-212, 15-29, 16-133, 16-183, 16-208, 16-212, 17-106).

xm-Ø. 'to be broken'; ʔał-xm-Ø 'to be broken' (10-17, 10-21). Cf. Xm-Ø.

xnas. 'woman, wife' (1-39, 1-136, 1-143, 1-161, 1-190, 7-12, 7-17, 8-7, 9-31, 9-55, 10-86, 11-43, 11-48, 11-49, 11-67, 11-68, 12-66, 14-32, 14-40, 15-33, 16-43, 16-44, 16-136, 16-143, 16-147, 16-158, 17-13, 17-104, 17-105); xixnas-ī 'young ladies' (1-22, 1-30, 10-2, 10-6, 10-7, 17-76); xnxnās-ī 'young ladies'.

xs. nu-xs-nm-Ø 'to become quiet' (16-57, 17-42). *xs-Ø.

xsūc-Ø. 'to be all, everyone' (5-17, 5-45, 5-46, 7-75, 16-42, 17-49). *xs-Ø.

- xʷ -

xʷāxʷ. xʷāxʷ-ī-Ø 'to be lightweight; to be bright, willing to do anything' [sometimes xʷaxʷxʷ-ī]; xʷāxʷ-lx-ī-Ø 'to get lighter' (2-89). *xʷāxʷ-Ø.

xʷc-is. 'to tear down'; xʷc-tus 'to spoil, wreck something'; nu-xʷc-alus-tus 'to break into pieces' (8-26); nu-xʷc-ik-layx-Ø 'to spill(non-liquid, e.g. berries)'

xʷin. xʷin-nimut-Ø 'to discover' (1-116, 15-3); 'to become aware' (2-115, 2-116, 14-44).

xʷla-Ø. 'to fight' (13-8, 13-9).

xʷł. Cf. ʔaxʷł. (15-17).

xʷnał. 'spring(water)' (3-8, 3-30, 3-40, 3-41, 3-43, 3-44).

xʷp-is. 'to unhook, untie something' (1-198); xʷp-ak-m-Ø 'to let go' (1-54, 1-68); xʷp-āX-ik-m-im 'to be taken off(a pack)' (1-64, 1-74); xʷp-ayx-Ø 'to get untied, loose' (2-31, 2-32, 2-33, 9-64, 9-65, 9-73, 14-49); xʷp-lXs-Ø 'to be the end' (6-30); xʷuxʷmp-cut-Ø 'to untangle oneself' (1-51).

xʷul-is. 'to drill something'; xʷul-ūc-is 'to drill around the edge'; xʷlxʷul-ūc-is 'to drill repeatedly around the edge' (9-40, 9-43).

- X -

Xam. Xam-nimut-Ø 'to have one's feelings hurt' (10-141); Xam-nimut-nix-is 'to hurt someone's feelings'. *Xam-Ø, *Xam-timut-Ø, *Xam-nix-is.

Xapa-Ø. 'to pack on one's back'; Xapa-t-is 'to pack something on one's back' (1-34, 1-46, 1-69, 10-82, 11-52).

Xaq̓ans. 'crane' (2-108, 2-109, 2-121).

XaXaq̓. 'goose' (3-74, 3-80, 3-91, 3-93).

Xi-Ø. 'to be bright'; s-nu-Xi 'light source'; s-nu-xy-ak 'light source to carried by hand, e.g. a torch' (9-211, 9-213, 9-217, 9-224); Xy-us-m-Ø 'to shine' (1-176). Cf. Xim-Ø.

Xil. XiXl-āX-Ø 'to be unstable(of boats)' (10-209, 10-212, 10-222); Xil-āX-m-Ø 'to keel over; to rock back and forth' (10-220); ʔał-Xil-āX-Ø 'to be keeled over'.

Xilxus-Ø. 'to appear, arrive' (1-122, 1-133, 1-140, 1-143, 3-13, 8-24, 9-219, 10-177, 10-184, 10-187, 11-101, 14-30); Xilxus-timut-Ø 'to appear' (12-14, 14-31).

Xił-Ø. 'to be many times' (15-37); Xił-āX-ał-Ø 'to take many steps' (14-15); Xił-uc-m-is 'to tell something many times' (3-98, 3-99, 5-71).

Xim-Ø. 'to dawn' (1-15, 1-173, 3-54, 4-4, 9-128, 9-171, 9-172, 9-183, 9-189, 9-193, 10-101, 10-124, 10-151, 10-155, 12-44, 12-71, 15-4, 16-124, 16-166, 16-168, 17-82); Xim-uc-Ø 'to bloom' (5-18, 5-21). Cf. Xi-Ø.

Ximlayxana. A person's name. (6-1, 6-2). Cf. Xim-Ø.

Ximswa. A person's name. (8-6).

Xl-tus. 'to send, tell someone to go' (13-25). *Xl-Ø.

Xlq̓-is. 'to change something around the opposite way'; Xlq̓-āX-uc-ʔał-ayx-Ø 'to get to the other side on foot' (10-175, 10-176); Xlq̓-āX-uc-ayx-Ø 'to get to the other side' (10-164); Xlq̓-ik-is 'to go over a mountain'; Xlq̓-ik-m-Ø 'to come over a mountain' (7-32, 7-34, 7-38, 7-39); Xlq̓-īXʷ-is 'to reverse something; to change its orientation 180°' (5-78, 16-176); Xlq̓-īXʷ-ay-nix-is 'to get something turned around' (5-85); Xlq̓-īXʷ-cut-Ø 'to turn about' (16-179). Cf. tXlq̓.

Xł. Cf. ʔāXł. (1-6, 1-45, 1-137, 2-64, 5-29, 5-75, 5-77, 5-90, 7-54, 11-4, 12-21, 12-22, 12-25, 12-49, 16-12, 16-39, 18-7).

Xłał-Ø. 'to be hungry' (5-10, 5-40, 10-55, 10-111, 11-35); s-Xłał 'famine' (5-2). *Xł-Ø.

Xm-is. 'to bite at something' (12-55, 13-41); XmXm-is 'to bite at something repeatedly' (10-102, 10-103, 10-142).

Xm-Ø. 'to be brittle(of plants); to be dried up' (5-9). Cf. xm-Ø.

Xul-is. 'to launch a boat' (16-158); Xul-cut-Ø 'to go closer' (3-16, 12-40, 17-29).

Xy. Cf. Xi. (1-176, 9-211, 9-213, 9-217, 9-224).

- Xʷ -

Xʷiq̓. Xʷiq̓-m-Ø 'to squeak, creak'; ʔał-Xʷiq̓-m-Ø 'to squeak' (7-47); ʔał-

-Xʷiq̓-m-uc-alaakt-Ø 'to have one's wings squeaking' (4-8, 4-18).

Xʷism-Ø. 'to play' (1-84, 3-14, 9-161, 17-81); stam-Xʷism 'playmate' (9-162, 9-164, 9-165).

Xʷm. Cf. Xʷum. (16-117).

XʷnXʷnam. 'hummingbird' (3-71).

Xʷum. nu-Xʷum-Ø 'to flow' (5-86, 8-47, 8-53); nu-Xʷum-nix-is 'to get something to flow' (8-32, 8-41, 8-49); nu-Xʷum-tus 'to make something flow' (8-42); ʔanu-XʷuXʷum-uɬ-aq̓ʷs-ī-Ø 'to have tears in one's eyes' (9-167); s-Xʷm-aq̓ʷs-ɬɬ 'tear'; Xʷm-Ø 'to flow, run onto the ground' (16-117). Cf. ʔanuXʷum.

Xʷup-is. 'to put something into a hole'; Xʷup-cut-Ø 'to run away and crawl into something' (9-241); XʷuXʷp-āX-alic-m-Ø 'to put between one's teeth' (10-87, 10-88); nu-Xʷup-āX-m-tus 'to get to the opening, mouth' (5-97); nu-Xʷup-āX-m-nix-is 'to manage to reach the opening, mouth' (5-98).

- y -

ya-Ø. 'to be good' (5-69, 7-23, 9-25, 9-34, 9-166, 9-168, 10-208, 10-223, 12-62, 12-63, 14-21, 17-12, 17-51, 17-122, 18-27); ya-nix-is 'to think something, someone is good; to like something, someone' (5-77, 15-18); ya-yūc-Ø 'to tell well' (1-2, 7-1, 7-74, 17-37); yaya-liwa-Ø 'to do correctly' (9-206); yaya-liwa-timu-X 'Be brave!'; a parting salutation' (1-14, 2-15, 9-128, 9-188, 9-212, 10-123, 10-139, 10-152, 10-202, 10-204); yan(k)yank-layx-m-Ø 'to be incidentally poling; to be playing with the canoe pole (5-89, 5-91, 5-95).

-ya. Incomplete.

-ya. Cf. -a. Intransitivizer (17-86).

-yak. Cf. -ak. (9-156, 9-177, 9-179, 9-246, 14-29).

yaki. 'mountain goat' (8-10, 8-11, 8-13).

yaɬ-. Cf. ʔaɬ-. Preposition. (5-83).

yaɬ-. Cf. ʔaɬ-. Resultative. (2-83, 5-30, 8-22, 9-181).

-yaɬ. Cf. -alu. (16-132).

-yaɬ. Cf. -aɬ. 'foot' (5-55, 15-37, 15-39, 15-40, 15-58, 15-60).

-yamk. Cf. -amk. (2-123, 3-98, 9-2, 10-169, 11-2, 11-42, 11-114, 15-62, 15-67).

-yanɬ. Cf. -anɬ. (1-41).

yaxʷ-is. 'to wake someone up'; ʔanu-yaxʷ-Ø 'to be called to do something; hired hand'(8-28, 8-38); nu-yaxʷ-is 'to call someone to do something' (8-33). *yaxʷ-0.

yaXʷ. yaXʷ-nimut-0 'to agree' (9-208); yaXʷ-nimut-nix-is 'to get someone to agree'. *yaXʷ-is, *yaXʷ-tus.

yay. A word of pleading, begging. (16-137).

-yay. Cf. -ay. (13-7, 17-87).

yayaX. yayaX-m-is 'to play tricks on someone; to tease someone; to play around with something' (1-62, 9-142); ʔał-yayaX-m-0 'to be made a fool of'. *yaX-m-is.

yayātwi-0. 'to be happy' (1-63, 16-163).

-yayx. Cf. -ayx. (10-205, 10-240, 16-79).

-yāł. Cf. -ał. 'foot' (9-25).

-yāq. Cf. -āX. (9-49, 9-57, 9-67, 9-74, 16-154).

-yāX. Cf. -āX. (4-19, 15-3).

-yk. Cf. -ik. (9-85).

-yt. Cf. -it. (10-23).

-yuc. Cf. -uc. (9-89, 10-206, 10-235, 10-259, 11-94, 16-131).

-yuks. Cf. -uks. (5-27, 12-91).

yul-is. 'to rub something' (1-178, 9-94, 9-95, 9-105, 9-233, 9-234, 10-48); yul-ak-m-0 'to whip something, e.g. batter' (6-14); nu-yul-āX-ayx-0 'to get wiped out' (5-21).

-yulīc. 'covering' (16-9).

-yuł. Cf. -uł. 'direction' (9-166, 12-15).

yup̓alXʷ-is. 'to go around a point of land' (11-74, 11-80); s-yup̓alXʷ 'point of land' (5-80).

yus-is. 'to use something' (16-57).

-yus. Cf. -us. (6-1, 16-91).

-yūc. Cf. -uc. (1-2, 7-1, 7-74, 8-2, 17-37).

-yūł. Cf. -uł. 'round' (1-80).

-yūs. Cf. -us. (2-27, 2-33, 2-39, 5-104, 7-27, 7-62, 7-73, 9-243, 10-261, 15-65, 17-59).

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